

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

HOW SHALL WE SERVE?

THE PACIFIST AND THE NATIONAL REGISTER

Suggestions for Replying to the Questionnaire

"THERE may be, after all," wrote the *Daily Express* Political Correspondent on Tuesday, "a compulsory National Register."

"Great pressure is being exerted on the Government in favour of this means of ascertaining the nation's capacity in wartime . . . I understand that Mr. Chamberlain will give way on the compulsory National Register issue. This is the first step, although a small one, in the direction of National Service."

WELL? What is the pacifist answer to be?

I suggest that as pacifists we should complete every dotted line of the questionnaire that Sir John Anderson will almost certainly be instructed to issue, and make our attitude in time of war, as in time of peace, perfectly clear to the Government and the country. But before we do so let us realize all the implications of our pacifist pledge and be certain that we commit ourselves to nothing inconsistent with it.

Radio Debate Tonight

THE BBC is to broadcast a 40-minute debate on "The Need for National Service" tonight.

Mr. L. S. Amery, who strongly advocates National Service, and Lord Snell, who opposes it, will be the speakers. "The clash of these two minds should provoke a discussion of outstanding importance," says the BBC.

Viscount Sankey will be in the chair.

LET us, first of all, not be deluded by the hypocritical heroics of "National Service," to which the National Register, whether voluntary or compulsory, will be but a preliminary.

National Service means war service. Let there be no mistake about it.

"National Service" is, like "National Government" and "Collective Security" and "International Police Force," simply a seductive label for something abhorrent when called by its own name.

National Service means national servitude.

AND now for a few more reservations.

IN no circumstances may we do military service.

In no circumstances may we participate in any work, however socially necessary during war, if by so doing we release another individual for front-line action. We cannot, for example, assist in ambulance or evacuation work if by doing so we

release official ambulance and ARP workers for active service.

In no circumstances may we engage in any civil work of a military character, such as the manufacture of munitions.

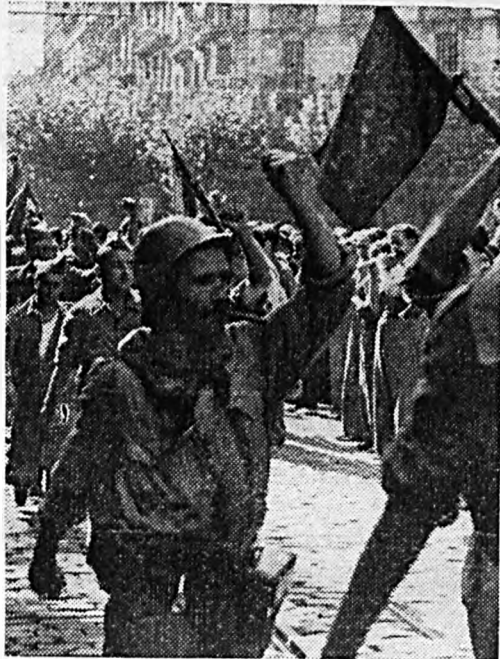
The acid test of all forms of service offered to us must be: "If I do this will I directly or indirectly be aiding the war?"

If the answer to this question is "Yes," the answer to the questionnaire must be "No."

THEN in pondering the inspiring phrase, "Service to the community," let us have a clear idea of what is the community to which we owe loyalty.

Here a little thought will assure us that the community in which we are nurtured, to which we owe our food, our art, our literature, our music, even our language, is not limited to the island on which we live. Our frontier is neither the Channel nor the Rhine. The world is our province.

Our loyalties must be correspondingly international. No service, therefore, that does not recognize this loyalty to all men can be undertaken by us.



Courtesy: New Leader

WHICH clears the ground somewhat for a consideration of what we can do.

THE first positive service for which we can prepare ourselves is to do all in our power to bring the war to an end.

Not only must we ourselves refuse to serve: we must go all out to induce others (Continued on back page)

★
THE
ONLY
WAY..?★



★ A decontamination squad in action, and (left) a march-past of the International Brigade in Spain . . . two instances of "service" by the war method. Is there not some other way? The article on this page suggests several rational alternatives.

M.P.s Seek Compulsory Register

The following MPs have signed the amendment:

Sir Edward Grigg (Con., Altrincham), Sir Hugh O'Neill (Con., Antrim), Colonel Moore-Brabazon (Con., Wallasey), Sir Francis Fremantle (Con., St. Albans), Sir Arnold Gridley (Con., Stockport), Mr. J. Henderson Stewart (Sim., East Fife).

Sir Ralph Glyn (Con., Abingdon), Lady Astor (Con., Sutton, Plymouth), Captain J. McEwen (Con., Berwick and Haddington), Mr. H. C. Haslam (Con., Horncastle), Marquis of Titchfield (Con., Newark), Sir Alfred Knox (Con., Wycombe).

Sir Arnold Wilson (Con., Hitchin), Sir Stanley Reed (Con., Aylesbury), Sir Patrick Hannon (Con., Moseley), Sir J. Lamb (Con., Stone), Captain Peter Macdonald (Con., Isle of Wight), Mr. W. P. Spens, K.C. (Con., Ashford).

AN influential group of about 20 Government MPs have tabled an amendment to the address in reply to the King's Speech demanding a compulsory national register.

A voluntary register has already been accepted by the Government. Compulsion, however, is still not out of the question.

The amendment "humbly regrets that the Gracious Speech contains no declaration of the intention of your Majesty's Government to compile a compulsory national register in order to facilitate the voluntary employment of men and women in those duties for which they are best qualified."



THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT

By James Hudson

A Sane Lead to Labour on the Colonial Question: Premier's Plans Pacifist M.P. on Nazi Abuse

THE most interesting, the most vitally important speech from the Opposition in the Debate on the Address was that delivered by Mr. Tom Johnston, the former Secretary for Scotland. It received in the press nothing like the notice it ought to have secured.

It was uttered at the end of a long string of complaining speeches by member after member on the Labour benches. Every complaint was justified. The Government's neglect of the poorest in Britain has been gross, and no member who really understands the lot of his less fortunate constituents can do other than complain.

But Mr. Johnston brought the House back to contemplate once more "the shadow of the coming war." The claims for just treatment for the unemployed and the poor would, he said, be conditioned by the financial measures which our war preparations would impose on us.

It is worthy of note that Mr. Johnston did not quail from making this assertion even though a similar statement made by Mr. Walter Elliott at Dartford had won angry protest from Labour supporters and afterwards rather paltry apologies and explanations from Mr. Elliott himself. But Mr. Johnston is one of the most courageous men on the Opposition benches.

Colonial Issue

HE wanted to know, could this generation escape the coming of Armageddon? Was it possible, he asked, for us to put forward reasonable propositions without waiting for the threat of force to make them appear not reasonable but merely cowardly?

We faced the certainty, said Mr. Johnston, that we should have to meet the demand for the return of the German colonies to their former owners. This demand was due before Christmas, or, at least, during the present winter. Hitler had made that plain.

The glare of the headlights of the demand for colonies will blind the opposition drivers of all on-coming traffic. Their own demands, however just, will be forced to draw up at the side of the Parliamentary road. Mr. Johnston was right: the colonial issue will impose its own right of way.

Could it be met? Mr. Johnston thought it could, but it was the essence of the matter that we should make our proposals in good time and not under the threat of force.

Succinct Statement

The issue could not be expressed more graphically, more succinctly than in Mr. Johnston's own words:

"The colonial territories, the non-self-governing territories, which represent 13 per cent of the population of the world which has no share presently in its own government—Portuguese, Dutch, British, French, and American—should be placed under an international trust, and these colonies should be run for the benefit of the people in them, we should jointly use our efforts to raise the status, the standards of living, the conditions of these people and increase their purchasing power.

"If we can do that we shall have a great free trade area and a great new demand for goods. There would be no special privileges for any State. Germany, as well as Great Britain and the United States, would have an equal seat on the board.

"If we could come to some kind of arrangement like that, Germany's difficulties about prestige would be overcome. They would be placed on a basis of equality, and the saner elements in Germany would recognize that through some such proposal added economic benefits would be secured for all the peoples of Europe.

"I am not pretending that it is a very popular proposal. All I am doing is to ask that it shall be considered in time as a reasonable alternative to acquiescing in the Nazi demands or in resisting those demands, which keep alive the threat and the fear of war, and the continuous expenditure of our resources upon preparations for war.

"Whatever Mr. Walter Elliott, the Minister of Health, may deny, it does tend to diminish the social services. In my view, he only spoke the truth when he said that it was guns or butter. There is no occasion for him to apologize. It is a self-evident truth."

Mr. Johnston said that in three months it might be too late to speak of this proposal. In the same way, so many proposals, once reasonable, had been rendered futile by the procrastination of their authors.

MR. T. E. HARVEY will forgive me for giving so much space to Mr. T. Johnston's advocacy of a proposal which Mr. Harvey himself first raised in the debate.

The importance of Mr. Johnston's contribution arose, of course, because it was delivered from the front Opposition bench, and in the ears of his Labour followers, who have recently had only too rare opportunities to listen to leadership of this kind.

Mr. Harvey had asked: Why cannot we take the initiative in removing from the peace treaties the declaration that Germany is unfitted to be a colonial Power?

The answer which most politicians would give to Mr. Harvey's valid question can be forecasted with precision. They are not prepared to go back on the assertion in the Peace Treaties that Germany was unfitted to be a colonial Power because they believe still she is so unfitted.

And the trouble is that Germany is now strong enough to resent this charge of inferiority and inherent wickedness. It makes no difference whether the charge is true or false.

There will be no world appeasement as long as Britain and France continue to rely on such a charge; holding on to exploitation in their own colonies while preaching at the Germans for wanting to share in the exploitation in colonies once their own.

Pressing Question

IF I absorb the greater amount of the space devoted to these notes to the one topic of the colonies, it is because it daily becomes clearer and clearer to Members in all parties that the colonial issue will transcend every other.

It is noteworthy that Mr. Ernest Bevin, who has now a larger influence in the trade union world than any other leader, on his return from a tour of the Empire put forward a claim for an immediate re-examination and revision of the whole of our British colonial claims.

This birth of a new interest, or rather re-birth of an old interest—for there was nothing imperialistic about Labour's approach to imperial problems eighteen years ago—will do much to bring back to the Labour Opposition a sense of its duty. I think there are signs of a saner attitude. The support of armaments used for imperial defence puts Labour at a maximum disadvantage. There was so little in its traditions and in its principles to justify such an attitude.

If I am right in assuming that a change is now coming, Mr. Tom Johnston will have a large share of the credit. He knew the wise words to say and had the courage to say them.

Premier's Plans

I LEARN on authority that I believe to be quite unimpeachable that Mr. Chamberlain himself intends to put forward far-reaching proposals about former German colonies. Indeed, before the crisis about the Czechs, these proposals had been tentatively submitted to the German Foreign Office.

They were proposals involving not only the disgorgement of considerable African territory held by Britain, but a large measure of assistance from the Portuguese, French and Belgian possessions.

Whether these plans were likely to prove acceptable to Hitler, I do not know. But at least they explain why Hitler brushed aside the colonial problem as presenting no insuperable difficulty. There will be no war, he said, about the colonies.

They explain, also, the journey of Mr. Pirow, the South African Minister, to Portugal, to London, and now to Berlin. But more still they account for the great state of perturbation on the Tory benches of the House of Commons; for the excited and packed meetings behind the closed doors of the committee rooms upstairs; for

the amendments supported by Tory die-hards on the Order Paper of Parliament.

All these things are, indeed, subject to violent fluctuation, and there is no telling what Mr. Chamberlain may have to do with his original plans in the rapidly worsening situation in German Jewry.

But this fact is, I think, established that Britain intended [or intends] to retreat from her indefensible claim to the German colonies. In view of that no saner claim could have been advanced in Parliament than that made by Mr. T. Johnston.

Like Small Boys

MR. CECIL WILSON greatly impressed the House with his appeal to politicians to think less of the strident words of Hitler. He said we gained nothing by giving heed to the foolish things Nazi publicists said about some of our public men. That was the behaviour worthy of small boys in a quarrel.

Mr. Wilson quoted the view of a small gathering of religious and social leaders whom he had met recently in the East End of London.

"We believe that there is an alternative policy, and for this we are pledged to work. It demands first of all a readiness to repent of our past ways, and to begin to put our trust in God and to desire the things which make for peace."

"It means a readiness to give justice to the people of our own land, and to put an end to class domination and strife at home and to imperialist domination abroad, even at the cost of foregoing luxuries and advantages ourselves in order to secure necessities for all."

"It means the creation of a people bound together by love, truth, and justice, building for peace and not for war."

Mr. Cecil Wilson's protest against the importance which Englishmen now attach to the worst words of Hitler stirred Sir Arnold Wilson to quote the protest made by Tennyson in an earlier day when France was the enemy:

*That our free press should cease to brawl,
Not sting the fiery Frenchman into war.*

From the Editor's Notebook

The German Tragedy: A Czech Triumph: The Lord Mayor's Show: A Unique Party

ONE of the most distressing features of the German pogrom is the widespread moral degeneration it reveals—the result of five years of intensive hate propaganda.

These incidents show the trend: "Thousands of laughing and chattering people watched the systematic spoliation of the shops."

"... the dense crowds of cheerful Aryans who have flocked on to the streets to gaze at the wreckage, shuffling through the splintered debris just as holiday makers might stare at a fair-ground."

It is, nevertheless, difficult to accept the verdict of the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. E. N. Lovett:

"I take (these outbreaks) as an indication of the way that the mentality of mankind is sagging back to barbarism."

On the contrary, a wave of revulsion has passed all over the world, and even in Germany there have been protests against this latest and most cruel outrage.

Not Enough Noughts

"£2,000,000 for Estimates," said a heading in *The Times*, announcing plans for a bigger air force. They meant, of course, £200,000,000.

That's one of the snags in this rearmament business—even *The Times* can't find enough noughts to do justice to the astronomical figure the Government proposes to spend on armaments now that it's "peace for our time."

The Coachman's Rig-out

THE newcomer from the provinces, seeing the Lord Mayor's show for the first time, is impressed most by the high representation of the Forces.

Save for occasional tattoos and demonstrations of the kind, the only military

spectacles which are provided for his delectation at home are the periodic recruiting marches of the local garrison from the barracks through the town and back again.

To his unsophisticated eye perhaps the most spectacular character in the parade—after His Worship himself, of course—is the coachman, resplendent in his plum velvet, gold braid and aiglets.

He notes with a slight elevation of the eyebrows that this outfit—the coachman gets a new one each year—costs £90, provided by the new Lord Mayor.

For, knowing something of distressed areas, he realises that this is £20 more than is allowed an unemployed man and his wife to subsist for a whole year.

Looking Ahead

A chair for Colonial Politics has been established by the High School for Politics in Berlin, says Reuter.

Cheers for the Czechs

ORCHESTRAL encores, enthusiastically insisted upon, are rare. There was one such at the Queen's Hall when the Prague Philharmonic Orchestra played.

"These men," commented the *Daily Herald* critic, "who a few weeks ago were in uniform prepared to fight for Czechoslovakia, last night played for Czechoslovakia instead—with a team quality and a fiery conviction that were overwhelming."

An orchestra of this calibre will do more to exalt Czechoslovakian prestige and defend Czech culture than any "Magnet Line."

"Peace News" Offices,
3, Blackstock Road,
London, N.4.

RONALD DUNCAN, editor of that refreshing little quarterly, *The Townsman*, tells me that his next issue, to come out in January, will be specially devoted to the censorship of speech, radio and the Press.

The current issue contains a savagely satirical "Rexist Party Manifesto," which contains some highly original suggestions for the prosecution of the Party's object, the abolition of the working class!

It is procurable (sixpence) from *The Townsman* offices, 40 Great Russell Street, W.C.1, or from Lahr's Bookshop, Red Lion Street, W.C.1.

Mr. Duncan, who is a perfervid pacifist, went with Dick Sheppard to speak to the workers engaged in arms production in South Wales. He will shortly contribute a series of three articles to our feature, "Speaking Personally."

"God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen"

"Christmas is coming and I see no reason why we should not prepare ourselves for the festive season in a spirit of cheerfulness and confidence."

—Mr. Neville Chamberlain at the Lord Mayor's Banquet on Wednesday, November 9. ("Thirty-eight bob a head," according to Mr. William Gallagher, MP.)

"There will be no increased unemployment allowances during the Christmas holidays."

—Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour, in the House of Commons, Thursday, November 10th.

A.S.

SURPLUS FOOD FOR STARVING SPAIN

P.P.U. PROGRESS "DOWN UNDER"

SOUTH Australia now has its own Peace Pledge Union—a branch of the Australian Peace Pledge Union, formation of which was announced in the summer.

The new branch started last month, and the pledge made by members is as follows: "I am determined not to support any war, and will strive for the removal of the causes of war."

It has for chairman Professor J. R. Wilton, who is Professor of Mathematics at Adelaide University and is known as a profound thinker.

It is hoped that a branch of the Australian PPU will later be started in Melbourne. The present branches are centred in Sydney and Adelaide.

The Australian PPU is a section of the War Resisters' International, the link between pacifists all over the world, and when it was formed it was announced that attempts would be made to get into touch with pacifists in Japan; the Japanese are looked upon by some Australians as their natural enemy.

Plight of Czech Y.M.C.A.

"If we now wish to visit our YMCA's in Slovakia the railway passes through two pieces of foreign territory," says a message from the YMCA in Czechoslovakia.

"Not only our country, but also the YMCA and our churches have received a terrible blow; by this unjust and disproportionate dictate we are confronted with terrific problems in order to continue our work," it continues.

"On top of all this misfortune we have to think of our Christian duties, help the several hundred thousand refugees who were deprived of their homes and property through this 'bloodless,' but nevertheless cruel war.

"Our struggle will be useless if we, together with our whole nation, do not find understanding in all of you who still can freely continue the task of developing the work of the YMCA."

Ernst Toller's Plea to the Democratic Countries

A PLAN for using surplus food to feed starving civilians on both sides in Spain has been outlined to the British Government by Ernst Toller, the famous exiled German dramatist. Lord Halifax has expressed the Government's sympathy with the scheme.

Already the governments of four other democratic countries have approved the plan, and Herr Toller has left for the United States in the hope of persuading President Roosevelt to initiate the scheme.

WASTE—AND WANT

"While wheat and rye are going to waste, and fish is being thrown back into the sea," he told a *News Chronicle* reporter, "the misery of the civilian population in Spain is unrelieved."

"At the same time, farmers and fishermen are having the leanest years of their lives, unable to find a market for their surplus wheat and fish.

"Briefly, my plan is for the governments to buy their own surplus foodstuffs and to hand them over to a central international relief organization, thereby benefiting their own country and the starving Spanish populations at one and the same time.

"The foodstuffs could be bought at minimum prices.

"In the past nine days I have visited four countries, and in the responsible government quarters my plan has been received with sympathetic approval.

"If I receive favourable support I shall sail for New York with promised cooperation from five Governments. That, I believe, will be sufficient to persuade President Roosevelt to take the initiative.

ORGANIZATION

"The organization would be administered by the Society of Friends and representatives of neutral countries. If necessary, ships taking the foodstuffs to the ports of Republican and Franco Spain would re-

ceive naval protection.

"I have estimated that the need of the civilian population throughout Spain would require a credit of £10,000,000 worth of foodstuffs to be guaranteed by democratic countries.

"At the moment, while the soldiers are well fed, civilians living under the strain of daily bombings are near starvation. The amount of foodstuffs I have mentioned would be sufficient to feed the people until next summer.

"Meanwhile the work of voluntary organization must be intensified."

The countries in which Herr Toller has recently obtained approval for his plan are Sweden, Norway, Denmark and New Zealand. Cordial sympathy has also been expressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York and the Archbishop of Upsala (Sweden).

His mission is a personal one. "When I have achieved my aim," he says, "I shall go back to my writing-desk."

WIDER OPPORTUNITY

Such a scheme for ending the tragic paradox of starvation amid plenty obviously deserves the support of every sensible human being.

For years past vast quantities of food have been destroyed simply because the present profit system would not permit its distribution to the people in need of it. Ernst Toller has now shown a way to overcome this.

Humanity demands that this way be at least tried once.

FOREIGN PACIFISTS FEAR NATIONAL SERVICE

From a Correspondent

THE HAGUE.

IF national service is introduced in Britain it will be a blow to pacifists everywhere.

English-speaking countries have been bright spots in this dark world of force and violence. But if Britain loses its liberty those in other countries—and not only pacifists—know that it will be like returning to the Middle Ages.

What difference would remain between Germany and Britain? Such an attitude in Britain quite justifies Germany in her actions.

LOOKING TO BRITAIN

The eyes of the nations have been turned to Britain with a hope that she will show the way and lead the nations to universal disarmament, because she has the greatest moral armament to replace this armament race. Britain is the country which can and must do it. But national service in Britain will be a terrible shock to pacifists everywhere and to many other people too.

Mr. Chamberlain set an example in going to Hitler, now pacifists must go to Mr. Chamberlain in the same manner and point out these implications.

It does not bring security to Britain nor to any other country, but the opposite.

If pacifists fight against it, and I believe they will, it does mean disharmony in the country and that is bad. But if Britain would save herself and really wants peace for the whole world the best thing is not to introduce national service, but keep her freedom.

Public Pressure for Peace in U.S. Elections

DESPITE attempts to draw the USA into a democratic bloc of nations ranged against totalitarian States—for which purpose next year's Royal visit to America is already being exploited in some quarters—Americans are waking up to the need for a more constructive policy to secure peace.

This was made clear during last week's elections for Congress.

"Candidates for the US Congress," reported the National Council for Prevention of War in an eve-of-the-election publication, "feeling the pressure for peace from their districts, have made more of an effort this year to satisfy their constituents by appearing at peace meetings to state their views and by devoting a great many of their speeches to the peace issue."

NO FOREIGN WAR

Candidates have also been questioned by newspapers. The *New York Daily News*, for instance, put the question of fighting a war on foreign soil to the candidates from Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. Ninety-three candidates pledged themselves never to vote to send troops to fight a war abroad.

In the *Saturday Evening Post* it was reported of one candidate that he "has made the discovery that voters, even in the remote hamlets, are more interested in peace than in any other kind of an issue."

That interest has expressed itself in the demand for a referendum before the nation can go to war.

WORLD CONFERENCE

Early this year Congress turned down by a narrow margin—following pressure from the Government—a proposed amendment to the US Constitution which would have made such a referendum necessary. It seems that the referendum will again be a "live wire" issue in the next Congress, for Representative Ludlow, sponsor of the proposal, plans to reintroduce it next year.

The election was also used by the National Council for Prevention of War to gain support for a programme designed to remove the causes of war, which includes the calling of a world disarmament and economic conference.

JERICHO

BRITISH troops occupied Jericho last Sunday, providing a contrast in the technique of invasion.

**3,500 Years
Ago:**

"So the people shouted when the priests blew with the trumpets; and it came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, and the people shouted with a great shout, that the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city."—*Joshua vi.* 20.

Today:

"Any intended Arab resistance crumbled, not, like the walls of the ancient city at the sound of trumpets, but at the roar of electric motor horns of a mobile column of 100 Army vehicles, including lorries carrying a battalion of Coldstream Guards, armoured cars and caterpillar wheeled artillery."—*News Chronicle*, 14.11.38.

LANSBURY LEADS CAMPAIGN IN AID OF REFUGEES

AT the invitation of the Jews, Mr. George Lansbury, MP, has become chairman of the Polish Refugee Fund.

Mr. Lansbury, asking for aid, recalls "all that Jewish people in this and other countries have done, and will do, on behalf of their suffering brethren."

He adds: "I am also desirous that we, who are Gentiles, should take our full share in assisting this relief work."

A year ago he had seen and heard something of the perpetual misery and suffering of thousands in Poland and elsewhere in Europe.

Mr. Lansbury urges those "safe and free from interference to send just a little more than they can afford to this special fund."

The address is the Polish Refugee Fund, 33, Soho-square, London, W.1.

THE HEALING POWER OF GARLIC

The healing and purifying qualities of garlic—known since the ancient days of Egypt, 3,500 years B.C.—are recognised throughout the world and highly valued still.

GARLIC GAVE BEST RESULTS

According to Dr. M. W. McDuffie, of the Metropolitan Hospital of New York, who concluded in 1914 a two-year series of experiments with fifty-six treatments recommended for tuberculosis:—

"Garlic contains a volatile oil, called Allyl Sulphide, and its medical properties depend on this oil, strongly antiseptic, and it seems to have a remarkable power of inhibiting the growth of the tubercle bacillus, eliminated by the lungs, skin, kidneys and liver, and oxydises into sulphuric acid in the system. Applied locally it is freely absorbed by the skin and penetrates the deeper tissues. Garlic gave us our best results, and would seem equally efficacious, no matter what part of the body affected, whether skin, bones, glands, lungs or special parts."

Together with a pure and natural diet—without which no medical remedy is fundamental and permanent—garlic in sufficient quantity would be an almost invincible remedy against many illnesses that arise from gastric and intestinal infection.

But garlic has two drawbacks: it contains an irritant, and it taints the person and breath with a pungent odour.

ALLYSOL

(a harmless but powerful antiseptic based on the principle of essential oil of garlic) eliminates both the irritant content of garlic—and its intolerable smell.

ALLYSOL is non-caustic, non-toxic, a potent antiseptic, and in all respects absolutely safe for internal use, being powerful enough to neutralise and destroy bacteria, but entirely bland and benevolent in its action throughout the digestive, eliminative, respiratory and circulatory systems. Taken in conjunction with fresh and natural foods, ALLYSOL is highly effective in the intelligent treatment of **RHEUMATISM, CATARRH, INFLUENZA**, bronchitis, whooping-cough, measles, tonsillitis, chest and lung weakness, colitis and every kind of septic infection.

In emergency, turn to Garlic—nature's safe antiseptic.
Trial box

3/-

Four containers, 11/-, post free.

G. MILLWOOD, Box Hill Road, Tadworth, Surrey.

The Myth of MacDonald and the Legend of the Labour Party

By
**Reginald
Reynolds**

**We Did Not
Say It . . .**

On War

"Murder is murder whether it is committed by an individual or under the guise of national policy."

—Mayor La Guardia, of New York, reported in the *News Chronicle*, 14.11.38.

On Fighting Fascism

"I do not believe that men can be freed from Fascism by the threat or exercise of external force."

"If Fascism is to go down in the countries where now it rules it will go down not before the bombers of an external enemy, but because of the uprising of those who are now its captives, some of them—for let us not deceive ourselves—most willing captives."

"It will fall as other tyrannies have fallen before it, because men grow weary of tyranny, because the desire for liberty, for the right to be their individual selves, is deep planted in the hearts of men, because in the long run ideas are more powerful than swords."

Francis Williams, in the *Daily Herald*, 11.11.38.

On Getting Together

"We want to see an economic league, a getting of people together on the basis of the utilization of abundance for all, not excluding those in hostility but eventually drawing them in. The way in which this country can give a lead is by showing that a democracy can organize itself properly, that it is more effective by democratic methods, and that it can give a better life to its people."

—Mr. Attlee, speaking in the House, 1.11.38.

On Security

"The only real security for any particular area in Palestine is to live at peace with its neighbour."

—Palestine Partition Commission report.

IN 1934, when the Sedition Bill was under discussion, I made several public statements to the effect that if that Bill was passed I should issue the seditious speeches of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the form of a pamphlet for distribution to His Majesty's Forces, and that in the event of prosecution I should *sub poena* the Prime Minister to give evidence on my behalf.

With the help of a few friends I then began to ransack the available archives in search of the speeches I required. I had always known that the liberal verbosity of MacDonald was combined with a thrifty economy of meaning, but I confess that the result of these researches astonished me. Pandora's box was full of empty platitudes. Only in the records of obscure local Labour papers could I find a trace of the mythical MacDonald—the man who had opposed the War.

The explanation for this may be found in Mr. MacNeill Weir's book *The Tragedy of Ramsay MacDonald*.^{*} With the help of irrefutable documentation he shows that MacDonald varied his speeches according to his company and tempered his pen to the probable reader.

EVENTS MISCONSTRUED

IT is regrettable that Mr. MacNeill Weir, who has so successfully analysed and explained this phase of MacDonald's career should have so misconstrued the latter events of his life.

The two principal misconceptions about MacDonald are that he opposed the last war and that he betrayed socialism in 1931. Mr. MacNeill Weir has shown that the first story has no foundation in fact. The truth about the second story is that by 1931 MacDonald had no socialist principles left to betray. Probably at no period in his life was he more consistent with his own theories, even though his action at that time proved their *reductio ad absurdum*.

Politicians are people who live, as the saying is "on their wits"—that is to say, on the stupidity of others. What is really remarkable about MacDonald is not that the man should have been vain or lacking in scrupulous honesty. It is that people should so willingly allow themselves to be deceived.

Of course, it is easy enough to be wise after the event. When the critics saw the recent Valentino revivals they said to each other: "Were we really such saps that we ever fell for this?" The ex-hummed eloquence of MacDonald has a very similar effect.

DEPARTEL SPIRIT

MR. MACNEILL WEIR'S book is important, but not, I think, for the reason that would commend itself to the author.

There is personal tragedy in MacDonald's life, the tragedy of a modern Faustus. He abandoned those who had loved him for people who merely used him. But the major tragedy was the permanent effect which he had on the working-class movement. His is the departed spirit of which the present Labour Party is the corpse.

To understand this another, and much more important, book should be studied. John Scanlon, who pilloried the Labour leaders as *Pillars of Cloud*, has now given us *Very Foreign Affairs*.[†] Never having mistaken MacDonald for a hero, Mr. Scanlon does not now mistake him for a villain. He merely places him among the other mediocrities who alternately mould our destinies and become the scapegoats for our sins and blunders.

John Scanlon traces the changes in foreign policy, particularly that of the working-class parties, since the War. The crime for which MacDonald became infamous in 1931 was committed by Henderson, Clynes, and others in the War—they joined in a Coalition Government with the Liberals and Tories.

True, they carried most of the Labour Party with them, whereas MacDonald did not—but that merely condemns the party without exonerating its leaders. They considered the necessity of killing Germans as a peculiar circumstance, requiring exceptional measures.

MacDonald in 1931 did not want to kill Germans, but he did want to go on being Premier; and I find it hard to decide which of these men had the worthier motive.

GAME CONTINUED

THE War over, the game of party politics was allowed to continue. Everyone, including the Labour Party, agreed that GERMANY MUST PAY (by everyone, I mean, of course, the politicians). Mr. Henderson made this quite clear, and the Party Executive agreed that £5,000 millions was not excessive.

Within a year or two Austen Chamberlain was

^{*}Just published. Seeker and Warburg. 15.
[†]Allen and Unwin. 6s.

explaining that Germany had fallen behind with deliveries of reparations coal to France, because German miners were not getting enough to eat.

The Labour Party at this point, as Scanlon shows, surpassed itself. They informed the public:

1. That "the figures of child mortality in Central Europe mean that it is the children who will pay in flesh and blood."

2. That reparations could only be paid in goods, which would cause unemployment in England.

3. That "Germany must not be allowed to escape from her legitimate obligations." (Arthur Henderson, March 11th, 1921.)

This was "good plain Oxford economic doctrine. If a pair of boots came into this country free, a child in Germany and a child in Britain would go barefooted. Yet Germany quite properly must send the boots!" The Labour economists, from Sidney Webb downwards, tied themselves in knots attempting to justify this policy.

EXAMPLE FOR HITLER

M. POINCARÉ took the same view as the Labour Party "multiplied by ten."

When he couldn't get his own way he expelled 500 Germans from Alsace with nothing but hand luggage and threatened to expel another 500 if his demands were not complied with by Germany.

When Hitler copied Poincaré years later, says Scanlon, "people believed he was being original." Curiously enough, though, while nobody minded very much about Germans being expelled from Alsace or the French invading the Ruhr, what really made the Labour Party and the Communists angry with Poincaré was that he and Mr. Lloyd George imposed military sanctions against Russia when it invaded Poland.

Of course, the Labour Party said: *C'est le lapin qui a commencé*. But the Polish socialists said Poland was invaded by the Soviet armies, and apparently no one could find Norman Angell just then to explain who really ought to be killed and why.

Yet in those days the Labour attitude to war, though confused, had some commendable points. Officially, at least, Labour had expressed misgivings about the League of Nations, and the Labour and Socialist International had declared against Article 12 of the Covenant. But those were the days when nobody wanted war except Mr. Lloyd George, who was seeking new worlds to conquer in the Near East.

It is worth remembering, because it marks Baldwin's rise to the virtual leadership of the Conservatives. Already he had seen that the Tories would not stand for war if they could avoid it; and he organized them to overthrow the Coalition as soon as the atrocity stories about Turkey began to appear. As Scanlon puts it: "Somebody was thinking of going to war, as no country ever committed atrocities between wars."

NEW ENEMY

BUT history is a conjuring trick in which the audience, who are really the players, are always watching something else.

While the Labour Party had been helping to punish the German workers for causing the War, a new enemy had arisen—the French. Mr. Scanlon suggests that from 1921-3 we hated the whole French nation because we could not pronounce the name of Poincaré, who was the real object of our resentment!

What seems to have upset the British Labour Party most was not that France was bleeding Germany, but that she was getting more than her share and using ungentlemanly methods. For example, the coloured troops in the Rhineland.

There was no objection to an army of occupation, but this was a reversal of the natural order of things. It shocked us profoundly, notwithstanding the fact that we had often declared our coloured brothers to be possessed of "souls like us, than which it was assumed no higher compliment could be paid."

BLACK BECOMES WHITE

AND now MacDonald, having declared that "no sane person would undertake to form a government with a majority of about half a dozen" took office with a minority of 400. It meant that Labour took responsibility for the continuation of a system and a foreign policy which Labour politicians had denounced with all the adjectives in their vocabulary.

What had previously been called black must now be called white, because a Labour Cabinet was at the helm. And yet those who accepted this situation actually objected to MacDonald and his colleagues wearing the livery of that system, of which they were now the humble servants! Their Court dress, Mr. MacNeill Weir tells us, "was regarded as a desertion of the working-class for the capitalist enemy."

Very rightly does Mr. Scanlon contrast the case of Hitler. In a country sick of "socialists" who only collaborated with the Old Gang to run capitalism more efficiently, there arose a man who refused office until he could obtain real power. What might have been our history if British socialists could have said, "All power to

run the socialist State or you run the capitalist State instead."

From the first Labour Government Mr. Scanlon traces the career of the Labour Party further and further into the old, discredited paths, till "gradualism" gradually led them somewhere to the right of the Tories. The Communists, he explains, being a revolutionary party, achieved this somersault over-night. If MacDonald were living today and stood where he stood in 1935, he would not be more reactionary than the party which he deserted.

TEST OF PRINCIPLE

THE latter part of Mr. Scanlon's book is recent history—familiar facts with an original presentation. I wish the documentation were a little more careful and that there were more attention to economic imperialism; but it is the best six bob's worth of common-sense I've read for a long time.

It amounts to this: MacDonald, like the Communists, justified his inconsistencies by "changing circumstances." But the more circumstances change, the more they remain the same. War is still war. Imperialism is still imperialism. Robbery is still robbery.

The only point in this survey of past muddles and betrayals is to see where we are heading, to learn in time in order that we may not (if we survive at all) review such an appalling record in 1950.

If numbers alone made a socialist party German Social-Democracy would never have succumbed to Hitler. It is principle that is lacking—the necessary core of any movement that would change the world—and the greatest test of principle is the peace test.

Judged by this standard it may be doubted whether it will, after all, be better for Odham and Gollancz in the Day of Judgment than for Ramsay MacDonald. But what about Bill Brewer, Jan Stewer, Peter Davey, Peter Gurney, Dan'l Widdon and T. Cobbley? Will the Almighty, to paraphrase Lowell, send the bill to the *Daily Herald* or the Left Book Club? I very much doubt it.

PRISON ANTHOLOGY

Edited by

REGINALD REYNOLDS
and A. G. STOCK

Storm Jameson

says:

"We hear a great deal about the spirit of man. This book is its voice, the voice of a spirit which, as often as it is trodden down, springs up again. No one, I think, can read it without an emotion of pride."

Laurence Housman

says:

"A fine collection of human documents of absorbing interest, showing how noble minded law-breakers can be, and (by inference) how ignoble, sometimes, those who are set in authority over them."

JARROLD'S—LONDON, 12/6

Speaking Personally

We are All Pacifists By Nature says Dr. Har Dayal

I HOLD that all men and women (except a few abnormal atavistic bullies) are really pacifists. Man is naturally a pacifist, Nature has not given us claws and talons and the carnivorous animals' teeth; she has endowed us with hands for work and the tongue for peaceful and eloquent persuasion.

All men and women in all countries want to work and love and marry and laugh and eat and drink and dance and bring up their children. No-one wants to fight. Man is born peaceful. Then why does he make war everywhere?

Our ideal of universal peace can be realized in the fulness of time only because human nature is fundamentally pacifist. Man is thus distinguished from such creatures as the wolf, the tiger and the eagle. If it were not so, we should lack the scientific basis for our endeavour.

Can be Removed

Pugnacity in man is an accretion and an excrescence: it can therefore be eliminated by a proper course of moral and political therapeutics.

Some militarists say, "Well, you can't change human nature." I reply that they have changed or try to change human nature, not we pacifists. They distort and pervert human nature, like the figures seen in concave or convex mirrors. We try to restore it to its normal healthy condition.

As Mencius said, "Water flows downhill by nature; but it can be made to go upward in a fountain or by striking it forcibly." Even so, man is peace-loving in the depths of his personality, but he can become a violent fighter under an artificially induced environment.

I CALL all men and women "pacifists." Every party, every church, every trade union, every group in society professes a deep love of peace.

Some indeed protest too much, methinks. They declare that their social ideal is a world-wide peaceful community. I take them at their word. I honour them with the noble title, "pacifist," because they say they love peace, and they really do so in fact. They speak more truthfully than they know. No man (not even a fascist) wishes to be branded as a warmonger, a willing champion of mass murder and death-dealing destructiveness. Therefore, we are all pacifists. But I divide them into two categories: 1, the direct pacifists, as we are; and 2, the indirect pacifists, as these other peace-lovers are.

The Wrong Track

I believe that the indirect pacifists are on the wrong track altogether, because they believe that a few more wars, international or civil, must be fought as a prelude to the final establishment of universal peace. They deplore this "dire necessity"; they always assert that war is "forced upon them"; they would rather not fight, but a few wars are inevitable before the golden era of peace dawns, and so on.

We, who are direct pacifists, renounce violence and armed conflict forthwith, as the most effective means of hastening the advent of the peaceful commonwealth. To me, this seems to be sound common sense. No argument is required to prove or support this thesis. We apply this procedure of immediate and consistent action in other progressive movements.

WITHOUT expressing any opinion on the merits or demerits of these other movements, I may point out that a vegetarian gives up flesh-food here and now, as he dreams of a vegetarian society: he does not maintain that he must slay a few million more oxen or sheep or pigs for the final triumph of his ideal. Such a declaration would be utterly ludicrous and nonsensical.

A teetotaler strives for an alcohol-free world: he abandons the use of alcoholic beverages at once as a duty that must be fulfilled without delay. He does not argue that he must quaff a few hundred gallons of whisky and some casks of beer as a necessary means of securing the ultimate success of the temperance movement.

Similarly the anti-tobacco propagandist does not assert that he is "forced" to in-

dulge in some Abdullahs or Balkan Sobranies in order to free the world from the curse of nicotine.

And so on. We can best promote a far-off sublime ideal by living in its light now, by beginning to march in the direction of the sacred goal at once, by being direct and practical and consistent. The straight line is geometrically the shortest distance between two points. This is also true of moral and political geometry.

Thus direct pacifism appears to me to be just a logical and easily intelligible proposition. It is really much more difficult to understand the plea of the indirect paci-

THIS is the first of a short series of articles by Dr. Har Dayal, the philosopher and author of "Twelve Religions and Modern Life."

Previous articles under the heading "Speaking Personally" — in which a wide variety of subjects has been dealt with — have been contributed by Vera Brittain, Laurence Housman, Middleton Murry, Lord Ponsonby, Max Plowman, and other prominent writers.

Leonard Barnes, the authority on Empire problems, will follow Dr. Dayal.

fists: "We aim at a peaceful commonwealth, but we regret very much that we must fight a few wars first. When we have won these necessary wars, we shall join the direct pacifists and lay down our arms for good."

This sounds very much like specious sophistry. Why are decent, honest peace-lovers misled by such hollow hypocrisy? Man is born peaceful; then why does he fight everywhere? This is a puzzle and a problem.

THE sincere "indirect" pacifist may be thinking of justifiable and desirable international wars for the liberation of some nations from a foreign yoke. Thus India, Algeria, Indo-China, Madagascar, Sudan, Senegal, Nigeria, Ukraine, and other countries are today oppressed and exploited by strangers.

But we must not forget that the common people of these countries are also exploited by the landlords, officials, money-lenders, priests, capitalists, and other privileged classes. Why should we condemn a "foreigner" sucking the blood of the "natives," but approve of a "native" rajha bleeding and plundering them?

If we really love democracy and feel for the woes of the people, we must realize that the problem is not "foreign rule" but "the people versus the parasites" in both the "conquering" and the "conquered" countries.

Great Britain owns a vast empire, but millions of Britons are underfed. What does a beggar in London get out of the "far-flung empire?"

World Struggle

So let us simplify the whole question and resolve it into a social and economic struggle waged on the international plane over the whole world. Let us get rid of the "national" enthusiasms and hatreds and ebullitions and invectives directed against the ruling "nation" as such. There is no "ruling nation" anywhere: there are ruling groups that exploit their own countrymen as well as the people of distant lands.

Further, "national" independence always leads to unbridled imperialism in course of time. The passions and feelings roused for a successful "national" war follow the logical course of development and engender imperialism—exactly the same evil as afflicted the weak nation in the days of its

servitude under foreign rulers.

Thus the Italy of Mazzini has degenerated into the Italy of Mussolini. But this is not an accident: Mazzini is the spiritual great-grandfather of Mussolini. Nationalism must grow into the political cancer called "imperialism." The Japanese, who were lauded and acclaimed for their successful resistance to Russian imperialism in 1904, are now the most ruthless and egotistic imperialists themselves.

Thus we conclude that the cure for predatory imperialism is now narrow-minded nationalism, which does not solve the social problem in the country, and which must also end in the same sort of imperialism again. The wheel comes full circle in this way, and only the names of the oppressors and the oppressed are changed. Thus violent "national" revolutions seem to lead nowhere in particular.

The psychology of nationalism sows dragons' teeth, from which cohorts of armed warriors must arise. Let us think and feel like cosmopolitan democrats, and not like tribal chiefs, spiritual and ethical frogs-in-the-well, relics and remnants of nineteenth-century sociology that cannot be revived in this epoch.

WE must also remember that "foreign rule" is not always an unmitigated evil. It frequently marks a step in advance. When the tumult and the shouting dies, it is found that administration has been improved, economic development has been fostered, and a new unified system has been created during the dark years of foreign domination.

Wider Vision

The Norman Conquest of England, the English Conquest of Wales, the British conquest of the Boer republics, the British occupation of Egypt, the Manchu conquest of China, and the Mogul empire in India are examples of ultimately beneficial political catastrophes. But one must be far-sighted in order to foresee the good of future generations as the fruit of the sins and sufferings of the present time.

Let us speak and think in terms of humanity, one and indivisible. Nations shall disappear, but humanity abides for ever.

We need not fight for freeing subject peoples from a "foreign yoke." The pacifists need not recognize this anomalous duty and this old-fashioned obligation. We march on to greater and more glorious struggles.

Next week Dr. Har Dayal will explode the fallacy the we can progress through war.

TO CONVEY YOUR GREETINGS



"A NEW COMMENDMENT I GIVE UNTO YOU, THAT YOU LOVE ONE ANOTHER, AS I HAVE LOVED YOU"

THIS Christmas card, drawn by the famous cartoonist, Arthur Wragg, is one of three specially designed for the Peace Pledge Union. Another eminent artist, Eric Gill, has designed one of the other cards, also printed in black and white.

Both cards are obtainable for 4d. each from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. Orders of a dozen will be sent post free for 3s.

In addition there is a most attractive card in colour, designed by Audrey Wynne Hatfield. This sells at 2d. (or two dozen post free for 3s.). Envelopes will be supplied with all cards.

No pacifist should miss these fine bargains.

LANSBURY: Promoter of Violence!

Readers of *Peace News* will be amused to hear of George Lansbury in a new rôle.

Writing in the *Catholic Herald*, Mr. Douglas Jerrold refers to Mr. Lansbury as the type who "can never at any time and in any circumstances avoid forceful settlements."

The demonstration follows: "If you go into negotiations announcing that whatever you do you will never fight, you will never get what you want. . . . If you are not prepared to back your case with force, you are inviting your opponents to play power politics successfully."

This argument, it will be noted, completely ignores the fact that justice is a force, and conventionally identifies millions of persons — differing in ideals, politics and interests — with a single individual, the assumption that, e.g., if a British government elects to wage a war to retain certain territory in Africa, it is you who are electing to fight and your interests that are involved.

WILL YOU HELP TO RELIEVE

SPAIN'S SUFFERING THIS WINTER?

If you can knit, here is something practical and immediate you can do. More than 300,000 children are living at starvation level and are in desperate need of warm clothing. We are aiming to provide 10,000 knitted garments by Christmas. Entrants may earmark their work for either side. Post the entry form or enquiries to Spanish Youth Foodship Committee, 15 St. James Street, W.C.1.

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I enclose 4d. in stamps for 16 page knitting book, with photos and full knitting instructions, free entry form, rules and classes.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

The Editor's Point of View

The Jews: A Practical Reply to an Outrage

THERE can be no doubt that the drastic treatment still being meted out to the Jews in Germany has a deeper explanation than simply that it is revenge for an equally senseless, if infinitely less furious, crime committed by a single Jew against a single German. Even the most fanatical Nazi cannot afford to alienate British friendship merely for the sake of revenge: it is too valuable an aid in his *Kampf*. It is, however, the very exigencies of the *Kampf* that are responsible for the latest outrage against an increasingly oppressed race.

The nature of the Nazi dictatorship is such that it must impose greater and greater burdens on the people of Germany. In order that these may be accepted in comparative silence the idea of an enemy to be resisted must for ever be kept alive. Thus it is, for example, that we have been treated to attacks by German spokesmen and press on politicians who have no influence on British policy, and the German people to assurances that further arms burdens are necessary because those politicians *may* some day control an England that will then menace Germany. And, whether to make that menace seem more real or to give a new cloak to the now dowdy Jewish bogey, the two "menaces" were actually rolled into one by the amazing suggestion that certain British Members of Parliament were in some way connected with the murder of HERR VOM RATH.

But, ghastly as it is that those who not only had nothing to do with the murder but would join with every other right-minded person in condemning it should pay the penalty—and such a fierce penalty—to succumb to the temptation to retaliate in some way that will hit the Germans as hard as possible is worse than useless. Not because any German spokesman happens to have uttered the blackmailing threat that such opposition will be met by further oppression but because of the fact itself that that can be the only result—just as it has already been the result (if only in part) of the murder which was itself a revenge for previous persecution of Jews.

If retaliation is rejected as worse than useless, it does not follow that no protest should be made. On the contrary, our protest must be as vigorous as against any other cruelty. But something more than protest is needed. Our own record—past and present—does not exactly qualify us to condemn Germany—as her press has already pointed out.

There is, as already indicated, the larger problem of removing the causes of the whole shameful business of persecution—not only of Jews. In so far as this is a special problem concerning Germany, that task is virtually the Herculean task of removing the very foundations of the Nazi dictatorship, the sense and the fact of frustration. Although, to be sure, every day's delay makes it the more difficult by tending to stabilize not only the foundations but many of the features of the dictatorship so that they increasingly become special problems that may well outlive their "natural" cause.

There is, however, the problem of showing practical sympathy with the Jews as suffering human beings. Great Britain, with its "far-flung empire," is in as good a position as any country to contribute something really constructive to a long-term policy. It has its own Jewish problem, which is patently not soluble—even if it were just to all concerned to do so—by making Palestine a national home for the Jews.

★ ★ ★ ★

But there is a growing demand in this country that the resources—particularly in territory—of the British Empire should be made use of for the benefit of Jewish refugees. "To utilize the particular qualifications and services of these refugees for the benefit of the British Commonwealth" was even the way it was put in a resolution adopted by a conference on subject peoples and refugees held by the National Council for Civil Liberties at Digswell Park, last weekend.

MR. LANSBURY expressed the demand in asking the PRIME MINISTER in the House of Commons on Monday

whether it would not be possible to consult with the High Commissioners of the Dominions to see if some place could be found for these people in the British Commonwealth of Nations, considering how relatively few—the believed the number was only 500,000 in Germany—they were. Was it impossible to say to the world that Great Britain would take these people and find them a place to start life afresh?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S reply that he had "no doubt that we shall be taking into consideration any possible way in which we can assist these people" was disturbingly vague and indefinite. Scarcely more satisfactory was his reply to MR. MAXTON that whether there was not "a vast colonial empire in which something definite could be done by the action of the Government here" was "a matter which is under the consideration of the international commission" set up as a result of the Evian Conference earlier this year.

Those are points which the Government ought to be pressed to pursue more definitely and energetically, and on which they should be asked, by those in this country who would help the Jewish refugees, to take an early initiative.

But there is something even more immediate that some individuals at any rate can do without waiting on governments. **All who possibly can should invite into their own homes for three or six months individual Jews in need in Germany. Alternatively, if people in this country can guarantee that individual Jews will not become a charge on public funds, the Home Office objection to their admission to this country will be overcome.**

There are various organizations in this country that can relate offers of such assistance to actual needs. This newspaper will put any offers of the kind received by it into appropriate hands.

In this way the revulsion which pacifists feel at the cruelties suffered by their fellows can be expressed not merely in retaliation, recrimination, or even vain protest, but in real, practical sympathy that can disturb no relations but improve the conditions of at least some of the sufferers immediately and ultimately perhaps remove altogether one of the major disgraces of 20th century "civilization."

Humphrey S. Moore

AT THE BOOK FAIR



The P.P.U. stall at the Book Fair, which has attracted much interest. A constant stream of people are inquiring about the P.P.U. and buying literature, as well as placing orders for other books on our list. A voluntary staff of over 40 are acting as stall-holders during the period of the Fair, and the highest praise should go to them for their efficient management. The Fair continues until November 21. (The sinister figure in the foreground is Max Plowman).

Pacifists Keen To Contest By-election Soon

From Our Own Correspondent

KEEN appreciation of the need for contesting a by-election as soon as possible and of preparing for the general election was shown at the second annual conference of the Christian Pacifist Party, held in Birmingham on Saturday.

It was pointed out that there were likely seats in South Wales and that candidates should be adopted at the earliest possible moment. A resolution was unanimously adopted urging the Finance Committee to press on with the raising of election funds.

In opening the conference the chairman, the Rev. Ingli James, said that pacifist energy in this country would go to waste unless pacifists were prepared to enter the political field. It was in Parliament that the policy of the country was decided and on the floor of the House of Commons that the most effective pacifist witness could be made. Were pacifists still to keep out of politics for fear of dirtying their hands?

MEMBERS' OBLIGATIONS

A challenging resolution was moved by Mr. W. L. Williams, General Secretary, on the question of Party Membership and Christian living. The main points were:

1. That all full members should give first place to the party.
2. That members should accept for themselves, and now, the principle of communal ownership which later they wanted observed by the nation.
3. That members should live within the limits of an agreed and frugal standard of life. Every possible penny was needed for propaganda, and even a frugal standard of life was a privileged standard when so many were starving.

Mr. Williams declared that those in the front line of the battle for peace must be ready to risk everything for the cause. He was convinced that the CPP was being called to occupy the most advanced positions in that front line, and he wanted its members to be disciplined and ready for such service.

After discussion Mr. Williams decided to withdraw his resolution and to invite those who were in favour to experiment with him along the lines he had proposed.

The retiring treasurer, Mr. Standbridge, did not wish to go forward for re-election, and Mr. W. H. Garbett, junior, 21 Wyckham Close, Northfield Road, Harborne, Birmingham, 17, was appointed in his place.

20 YEARS AFTER

The Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm began his 21st year of exile in Holland last week.

Twenty years ago ended the war which was to dethrone the Kaiser and destroy German militarism.

And today?

A more powerful and more ruthless autocrat than the Kaiser rules Germany, and the goose-step resounds more loudly than ever in the Wilhelmstrasse.

Yet daily we are asked to form a "united democratic front" to "destroy Hitler and German militarism."

What guarantee can anyone give us that another war would achieve this purpose when the last so signally failed?

Pacifist Convention for Cambridge

THE Parliamentary Pacifist Group, consisting of members of both Houses of Parliament. Parliamentary candidates, and others, will hold its next convention in the Labour Hall, Norfolk Street, Cambridge, on Saturday next.

Speakers will be George Lansbury, Stuart Morris, Henry Carter, Mary Gamble, H. C. L. Heywood, and Anna Bidder. Dr. Alex Wood will be chairman.

Particulars may be obtained from Miss Sindall, 12 Jesus Lane, Cambridge.

Tolpuddle Play Next Week

The play, *Six Men of Dorset*, which tells the story of the six Tolpuddle Martyrs, who were sentenced to transportation in 1834 for trade union activities, will be presented at the People's Palace, Mile End Road, London, E.1, for one week only, beginning on Monday.

This is London's first chance to see this famous play. Prices range from 6d. to 2s., and seats may be reserved at prices from 1s. upward. Performances will be twice nightly, at 6.30 and 9 o'clock.

3,000 WOMEN IN PEACE PARADE

Big Armistice Day Demonstration

700 TRAVEL FROM PROVINCES, URGE "NO MORE WAR!"

WHILE the Cenotaph was the centre of an official Armistice Day celebration at which the trappings of militarism were greatly in evidence, a simple ceremony of a very different nature was being held in Regent's Park.

Arranged jointly by the Women's Co-operative Guild and the Peace Pledge Union, it was free from all association with militarism. This form of remembrance was arranged for the first time last year. This year (writes a special correspondent) it was again a striking success.

Nearly 3,000 women attended the morning service conducted by Canon Stuart Morris, chairman of the PPU, from the bandstand in Regent's Park.

George Lansbury, Vera Brittain, John Barclay, Mrs. Edith Williams (National President, Women's Co-operative Guild), members of the Central Committee of the WCG, and Miss Rose Simpson were present.

The bandstand was decorated with flowers, and the vast audience was led by a women's choir in singing two hymns.

The peace pledges of the PPU and WCG were recited by the audience, and Canon Morris read a poem by Siegfried Sassoon. The Two Minutes' Silence was observed with impressive reverence.

WEST END PROCESSION

Afterward, a great procession, headed by a banner with the message "S.O.S! Women Calling the World! No More War!" was led by Mr. Lansbury and PPU and WCG officials along Albany Street, past the barracks, and down Marylebone Road to Baker Street. The hundreds of striking banners and pacifist posters and slogans drew great attention along the route.

In the afternoon a crowded meeting was held in the Central Hall, where rousing and constructive speeches were delivered by Mr. Lansbury, Canon Morris, Miss Vera Brittain, and Mrs. Theo Naftel (secretary, International Women's Co-operative Guild), with Mrs. E. Williams in the chair.

Seven hundred women had come from the Provinces to join in this national lead for real peace.

A film was made of the demonstration, which will attempt to show the empty glamour of war, and the need for a sane and constructive peace.

The PPU wreath of red and white poppies was on the platform of the Central Hall alongside the white poppy wreath of the Women's Guild. They were afterwards laid on the Cenotaph in Whitehall by Canon Morris and Miss Vera Brittain, and Mrs. Edith Williams and Miss Rose Simpson.

More white (peace) poppies were worn by men and women this year than ever before, and all taking part in the demonstration and procession wore this peace emblem.

"Why Not Try Pacifism?" Asks Lansbury

Speaking at a meeting in Westcliff last Thursday, organized by Southend Christian pacifists, the Rev. Le Messurier condemned the attitude of the people in general, who, he said, termed the dictators as bullies.

He added: "Were these dictators treated as honest men and not as criminals then there would be a far greater chance of international peace."

Canon Stuart Morris stated that peace would not come as a bargain. Peace could not be defended, but lived in practice in a new relationship of unity.

The meeting was also addressed by Mr. George Lansbury, who pleaded that men must be made to see that peace could not come to the world until they worked to preserve life and not to destroy it. He pointed out that, after all, pacifism could not offer anything worse than destruction, so why not try pacifism?

The Right Way to Bomb Them!

Six RAF planes yesterday flew over part of the worst terrorist area in Palestine, dropping food.

They brought relief to the Arab villagers of Tubas and Jinsafut, which are marooned following terrestrial rains.

The villages are in the area north of Nablus, which is notorious for its rebel activities.

All roads leading to them have been impassable for days and the food shortage became acute.

The six aeroplanes flew over the villages and dropped packages of food by parachute from their bomb racks.

Daily Herald, 12.11.38.

Sacked C.O.'s Get "Dole"

OFFICIAL recognition of a man's rights to refuse to support militarism on grounds of conscience has been provided in two recent cases, one in England and the other in America, where men have been granted unemployment assistance after being dismissed because they objected to doing work associated with war preparation.

A Huddersfield man was sent to a local cotton mill a few weeks ago where cotton fabric for gas masks was being woven. He refused to do this work and was thereupon reported to the local Employment Exchange and eventually brought before the Board of Referees, which allowed him unemployment pay.

In announcing the decision the chairman of the Board said that if the case had been left to him it would have been dealt with very differently. The pacifist replied: "Nay lad, if that's gieing a decision g'ie it wi' good grace."

IN AMERICA TOO

The other case occurred in Texas, USA, where a bookstore attendant was dismissed because he refused to handle or sell military manuals. He writes to *Peace News*:

I don't mind selling books about war, or even in favour of war, but I couldn't make my arms lift a stack of technical books whose only use I knew was the actual practice and preparation for war.

Unemployment assistance was granted to him without any delay when he gave the reason for his dismissal.

Massed Poster Parade In West End

THREE hundred volunteers took part in the mass parades and *Peace News* selling in the West End of London last Saturday. 6,000 leaflets were distributed. Over 350 *Peace News* and 200 penny and three-penny booklets were sold.

So successful was the concentrated selling of *Peace News* and booklets near Piccadilly Circus that it is proposed to stage another mass-selling of *Peace News* in the West End on Saturday, December 17, from 6 p.m. to midnight.

Volunteers should send their names to PPU Headquarters as soon as possible, certainly not later than December 10.

£5,000,000 FOR MASKS

Sir John Anderson, Lord Privy Seal, has told the House of Commons that the cost of providing civilian gas masks to date was £5,000,000.



George Lansbury was at the head of the procession which marched from Regent's Park to Baker Street on Armistice Day. Also in the picture are Rose Simpson and James H. Hudson.

Peace Wreath of a Mayor

WHITE poppies figured in other Armistice Day news.

Anonymous telephone calls have been received by the new Mayor of Wood Green, Mrs. J. Bolster, criticizing her action in leading a party of the Women's Co-operative Guild and placing laurels and white poppies on the local war memorial. Threats were made that the wreath would be removed.

There was no demonstration when the wreath was deposited at the war memorial. Mrs. Bolster did not wear her Mayoral chain, but attended in her capacity as member of the Women's Guild, of which she had been a member for 30 years.

MEMORIAL SCENE

The laying of a wreath of white poppies on the Nottingham City war memorial was followed by a scene when an ex-Service man removed the wreath. "White is the colour of surrender," he shouted.

"White signifies peace, and they died for peace," replied a woman.

The wreath was laid on behalf of the Nottingham Central Women's Co-operative Guild. In the opinion of many British Legion men present, the man's action was foolish. PPU members had joined with the Women's Guild in the sale of white poppies.

At Swansea the local PPU group placed a white poppy wreath on the war memorial, and held an evening meeting in the Wesley Mission, as well as sending a debating team—which easily proved victorious—to the University College.

Other Armistice Day meetings included one at Gosport organized by the Methodist circuit with the help of the Portsmouth PPU branch. There was an attentive audience in the Methodist Church, almost 300 people being present. Mr. Shoran S. Singha spoke on "The World at the Cross Roads."

An interdenominational service of remembrance and intercession for peace was held in St. Alkmund's Church, Derby. It was arranged by the Derby group of pacifist clergy. Five ministers took part, among them being the Rev. V. Allan Callow (Unitarian), chairman of the local PPU group. About 200 people rededicated themselves to the cause of peace.

Worthing group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation arranged a public service for thanksgiving and peace, conducted by the Rev. W. McLeod Gardwood, assisted by the Rev. Frank Fincham, both of whom took the pacifist position during the War.

In Jersey, Channel Islands, an Armistice Day Service of Remembrance was addressed by Advocate R. Vibert on the causes of war.

STUDENTS' DECLARATION

A PPU debating team carried the motion "That this House will be Pacifist" at an Armistice Day debate in the University College of Swansea. White poppies were in evidence.

Scarborough members of the PPU held a very successful public meeting in the evening, nearly 600 people listening closely for an hour to Laurence Houseman's address on "The Price of Peace."

PEACE

and her Victories

Peace and the innate brotherhood of man gave us the Co-operative movement. The provision of this link between the Idea and the World (and the means of changing it to a happier condition) is Peace's greatest victory.

IT was the realisation that victories must be secured on sound foundations which first taught the founders of modern co-operation that consumers' co-operation has need of a manufacturing as well as a distributing end. So came about the Co-operative Wholesale Society. Today the C.W.S. through local co-operative societies is manufacturing and wholesaling goods to meet the needs of Britain's eight million co-operators. Are you among them? You should be.

Announcement of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd.

Some of the Week's Books

Duping the People in Wartime: The Christian Spirit and the Modern World

Propaganda In The Next War. By Captain Sidney Rogerson. The Next War Series. Edited by Captain Liddell Hart. Geoffrey Bles. 5s.

Reviewed by Roy Walker

I BELIEVE everyone should read this book. It describes the grotesque and terrifying reality of war preparation more clearly than anything else I have read.

Captain Rogerson shows with precision what must be done to dupe the public if we are ever to have war again, and it is only when he rashly attempts a moral justification of deliberately one-sided propaganda that his argument suddenly becomes entirely idiotic.

It may be argued with a great deal of truth that if the public are right-minded, as a healthy sound people should be, then they will inevitably come to the altered point of view of their own free will.

The question is, will they come to it quickly enough? . . . Circumstances sometimes demand that public opinion shall be made to change against time. In war the national safety frequently demands it, and in the next war will probably depend on it.

Does Captain Rogerson believe that any government in whose hands this tremendous propaganda machine may come will necessarily be infallible and incorruptible? Apparently not:

... the "war to end war"—surely the most immorally mischievous slogan which politicians, more zealous than far-seeing, coined to deceive the masses whom they were supposed to lead.

That there is anything unwise about giving politicians who may be "immorally mischievous" and addicted to "deceiving the masses" a despotic degree of control does not seem to occur to the author:

... the time to prepare much of our propaganda for the next war is now.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that a measure of control (of the press) will be necessary before the hour strikes.

It is not reasonable to expect even barbaric peoples to fight an enemy whom they regard as "not a bad sort of chap." Any sentiments of this nature must be dispelled before the warlike spirit can be thoroughly kindled. In wars between peoples there must be hatred of the enemy.

There is a long discussion of the sort of propaganda which we should reproduce:

We shall do well to press the loud pedal on the democratic stop in our home propaganda. This is calculated to be the most telling in a future war as it was in the last.

There can be no doubt that the next war will be billed as a fight between democracy and dictatorship. It may in fact be nothing of the sort.

So when we agree that propaganda control is necessary, we shall impose it instantly, and label our control machinery "democratic" or "voluntary" in large letters. Meanwhile, we are preparing ourselves for a change by loud assertions that we should never tolerate such a control.

It is perhaps surprising to find an overwhelming, if unintentional, statement of the pacifist case in a book of this sort. But when Captain Rogerson, after emphasizing that propaganda must be truthful (i.e. employ accurate facts) if it is to be successful for any length of time, says:

If it (an institution) is good it largely defends itself. Its goodness will tell more than the propaganda against it. If it is bad it is indefensible!

he surely shows that only a policy based on good will, conciliation, and disarmament is likely to provide security in the modern world, that it is the only permanent defence against the awful resources for the mass-production of public opinion.

Peradventures of "Peace News"—No. 14



"Caddie boy, the bombardment is finished: and Peace News still remains intact. Have a page?"

Men of St. Dunstan's

The Spirit Of St. Dunstan's. V. M. Duche. John Murray. 3s. 6d.

To read such a book as this is apt to make one angry that the foolishness of men has robbed their comrades of the most precious thing God has given us, the gift of sight. Yet its intention is not to arouse our indignation but to show how courageously these men have faced a life of blindness.

The book will, of course, make many of us feel ashamed of the way in which we face life though possessed of all our faculties. But to the pacifist in particular it will stir him to work even harder for the prevention of another catastrophe and its attendant sufferings.

The lives of these men are worthy examples. May their presence in our society be a constant reminder of what war really means.

P. PITMAN

Progress of Humanism

At Random: Thoughts on Humanism. By A. Z. Abushady. Daniel. 2s. 6d.

The outside view is nearly always interesting, and it is none the worse for a little naivete. But it must be the outside view of someone who has really seen, not merely of one who has read.

Dr. Abushady would perhaps dissent from the suggestion that his book is an outside view at all, for though he writes from Egypt his subject is the progress of humanism in the world.

Yet his picture of humanism and the development of progressive thought has so much the appearance of coming completely from books, so often takes the will of Western progressives for the deed of Western democracies, that one seldom escapes from a sense of unreality.

A citizen of this country, for example, can do little more than blush when he reads that:

Not only has the old theory of the divine origin of government disappeared, but it has been fully replaced by the belief in a government by the people for the people on the basis of true liberty, equality and fraternity, affecting men and women alike.

Dr. Abushady gives an intelligent summary of certain aspects of Western progressive thought, but his comments do not show personal inspiration or particular shrewdness. Most interesting are his frequent references to Egyptian domestic politics, but they are too scattered to give any complete picture.

A. C. STANILAND

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The Pacifist Pamphleteer

What Is Non-Violent Technique? R. H. Ward.

Pacifism and the Left Wing. A Fenner Brockway.

The first of these two pamphlets might well be called "Common Sense about Non-Violence."

Mr. Ward points out that all the various "exercises, diets, mystical systems, asceticism, and the rest," advocated by enthusiasts, "are sets of tools, no more." One must find out which set of tools one can use best. The necessities are imagination and experiment; experimenting with non-violence he says, "is decidedly interesting, especially during the rush-hour on the Tube."

The second pamphlet reproduces an address delivered by Mr. Fenner Brockway at a weekend conference entitled "After the Crisis" convened by the Holborn and St. Pancras Group of the Peace Pledge Union. The crisis tended to draw closer together those, like the ILP, who were not

pacifists but were opposed to war, and those who oppose all war. The fundamental difference between these two groups seems to be illustrated in the following passage from Fenner Brockway's address:

The practical question which we have to answer, therefore, is whether we would rather have the social revolution with violence or not have the social revolution at all. The answer of the ILP is that it would rather have the social revolution.

Nevertheless, he admits that "the measure of the freedom which is won by social revolution will be the measure of the absence of the spirit of violence in the social revolution."

He argues for as close a cooperation as possible between pacifists and the left wing, and indicates some of the forms it might take.

C.

This Modern Age: An Introduction to the understanding of our own time. By F. C. Hoppold. Christophers. 5s.

Reviewed by Preston Benson

"EVERYTHING must be made easy and interesting," writes Mr. Hoppold in slating the newspapers. Yet by the same rule he has tried to distil the modern world into a pleasant pick-me-up for anyone, from the fifth form to the cabman's wife, who feels ready to come to grips with world affairs. It is an outline for adolescents.

The scope of the book is from pre-history to Herr Hitler. Its simplicities are often as enlightening as a parable. There is that quiet explanation of a box of chocolates: how it requires beans from the Gold Coast, sugar from Jamaica, nuts from South America, ginger from China, box, strawboard, paper, tin-foil, all proving the close-knit character of commerce and production.

In contrast is the author's zestful account of how an article costing 2s. 6d. in labour and materials appears on the retail counter at a guinea!

With such yardsticks of the twentieth century—cooperation, and bare-faced robbery—Mr. Hoppold to some extent correlates imperial democracies, dictatorships, inventions, radio, cinema, cars, newspapers, and even town-planning.

His account of modern political history and social novelties, all the same, is too sketchy in its chapters to be a guide and, unfortunately, too careless in odd statements to be acceptable factually.

Herr Hitler, for example, did not found the German Nazi Party, though he was an early member. The BBC is not a Public Utility Company but a corporation controlled by a special Act of Parliament.

These doubts in respect of a book seeking to explain the modern age recall an unusual association outside Dorchester where Maiden Castle, a prehistoric earthwork, is preserved in the shadow of a mighty wireless station. Mai Dun stands at the beginnings of our civilization and Marconi is at our end of it. The radio masts might conceivably represent the actual end of it but for one force that Mr. Hoppold has touched upon in relation to old Rome but has missed altogether in his survey of today's world: the will and work of the Christian communities.

He may believe that "the liner is the modern equivalent of the Gothic Cathedral," but the real equivalent is simply a modern cathedral. There is no understanding of today's world through giving a false value to the engine-room of the Queen Mary or such a temporary object as a streamlined car. They are real enough in the modern world, but the realities do not depend upon them. However beautifully conceived, they are incidentals.

A new cathedral, on the other hand, bespeaks both continuity and permanence. It is the expression of a world movement, heroically personified, at the moment, by such men as Pastor Niemöller.

It is a pity that it has escaped Mr. Hoppold's comprehension, for, in the long run, the Christian spirit means more to the freedom of each one of us than all the dictators, all the mobility of modern transport, all the material planning, and all the entertainment of modern mechanical ingenuity put together.

Indeed, in my estimation, it is the key-stone of the modern age as it was of mediæval times. Nothing else is withholding civilization from collapse.

The War Resister

is the quarterly news-sheet of the WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL,

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From W.R.I., 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

WRITE FOR OTHER LITERATURE AND INFORMATION OF THE WORK.

Letters to the Editor

How Should Pacifists Vote? Replies to Lord Sanderson

WITH reference to Lord Sanderson's letter on voting in the Oxford election (*Peace News*, November 12), I consider that he, belonging as he does to no political party, would have been perfectly justified, as a pacifist, in voting for Mr. Hogg, the issue in that election having been deliberately and even ostentatiously confined to the foreign policy of the present Government.

I should like to add that in the discussion on the various definitions of democracy which has been carried on in recent numbers of *Peace News* one consideration has been left out of the account.

In ten centuries of our experience in trying to build up democracy in this country by means of a party system, we have learned that the strength of a government depends on the strength of the opposition. The best governments are those subjected to criticism and opposition who with only a small majority have to justify fully every step they take.

The huge Liberal majority in 1906 led to dissensions, splits and camps within the government ranks. The war broke them and their divisions almost brought about the extinction of the Liberal party. The exaggerated dominance of the Lloyd George government of 1918 was the nearest approach we have had to a dictatorship, and so it fell. On the other hand a minority government cannot work and ought never again to be attempted.

A pacifist who acquiesces in everything except when it comes to actual fighting in a war is not helping democracy. He should, oppose, protest, and refuse whenever his convictions lead him to do so, thus making the government of the day aware of the strength of the opposition against them and possibly altering their decisions; and he should encourage by vote or voice even a political opponent who on the issue of peace and war appears to be taking the right line.

It is because in several European countries and all oriental countries they cannot accept the idea that an opposition should be given free opportunity to oppose that their parliamentary systems cannot survive.

PONSONBY.

Haslemere.

No Sanction for Rearmament

I feel that underlying Lord Sanderson's article on "The Defence of Democracy" (*Peace News*, November 12) is a belief that, on the whole, the present electoral system gives the country a House of Commons which is a fair reflection of the will of the people.

Certainly, this is assumed in reference to rearmament. "When rearmament has been brought about by democratic sanction," says Lord Sanderson, "he (i.e., the pacifist) cannot as a good democrat further oppose it."

But when and how did rearmament secure "democratic sanction"? At the last general election the choice, in the constituency where I am an elector, was between two candidates who both advocated increase of armaments; a Labour candidate who strenuously upheld "collective security" plus national armaments, and a Tory who as strenuously preached imperialism plus armaments.

In the coming general election I shall probably face the same restricted choice. My pacifist convictions find no electoral expression, and what is true of my constituency will be true of most constituencies in Great Britain.

The complex and costly party machines determine the choices open to electors, and most pacifists have no chance to record a vote against armaments or their increase. A German can—if he dares—vote "No" to an official list of candidates; the British pacifist, in most constituencies, can only say an electoral "No" to rearmament by withholding his vote altogether.

There is something wrong in this method

Bombing on the N.W. Frontier

To the Editor of *Peace News*.

Dear Sir,

PERIODICALLY, when the bombing in Abyssinia, Spain, and China is under discussion, pacifists and others dare to mention that the British also bomb their "savage" enemies on the North West Frontier of India and that Lord Londonderry boasted of his opposition to an international agreement to prohibit bombing from the air, because we could only civilize the Afridis and others in this way.

The answer is always the same. We are told that a note is sent to the enemy saying, "Dear Sir: We propose to bomb you to-morrow, so please arrange to be out." Then the hostile tribesmen vacate their premises which are bombed by our 'planes. Nobody minds, least of all the tribesmen, who regard this as a normal aspect of European police work, like our traffic police in London.

But in the "Sunday Times," of November 13, I found a notice that Flying Officer N. A. N. Bray, of No. 20 Squadron RAF, has been awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for "conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty."

From what follows it appears that his conspicuous gallantry consisted in flying through gorges bombing and machine-gunning tribesmen without the usual courteous notice or so much as sounding his horn. This "daring feat" he repeated, as the saying is:

*Not once now and then
But agen and agen.*

flying low "with complete disregard for his own safety," says the report. From which it would appear that the sport of massacring tribesmen has its risks, like hunting.

It is not long since Mussolini, Junior, wrote a book about this sport, and I remember some ugly adjectives being applied to him which I see no purpose in repeating. However, it looks as though Mussolini wasn't so far wrong when he said he was only imitating what we had done and were still doing in India.

And, by the way, that fine the nazis are imposing on German Jews is another impertinent imitation—for years we've imposed "collective fines" on innocent villagers in India and now on Palestine Arabs. I'll bet that's where Göring got his idea, the cad.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

53 Cleveland Square,
London, W.2.

the remaining democracies will seek to become fascist with the assistance of their fascist neighbours.

I believe the Chamberlain administration is likely to maintain external peace, but will do so in the wrong way, by means which I, for one, cannot endorse. The Big Four will compose their differences, I think, but they are likely to do so by bartering with the territories of helpless peoples.

At the moment, the fascist Powers hold the whip hand, and will therefore drive some hard bargains, but they will not drive too hard bargains, because it is to their interest to keep reaction in the saddle in Britain and France, as it is to the interest of the latter to keep fascism in power in Germany and Italy.

I accept the Prime Minister's statement that he abhors fascism. He also abhors and fears war, but he has admitted that he would accept war in certain circumstances. There are things he abhors more than fascism, and when the next economic blizzard sweeps the world I think we shall discover what they are.

For these reasons (among others) I for one could not vote for a Chamberlain candidate in any election.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

12 Victoria Avenue, Quinton, Birmingham.

No Dilemma For Pacifists

Can anyone believe that we in Britain live in a democratic State? It may be said that the House of Commons very roughly represented the will and the desires of the people at the time of the last general election but that is the utmost that can be conceded to the democratic system in our country.

Party leaders become Premiers without reference to democracy; cabinets are chosen, not elected, along party lines; the chamber to which Lord Sanderson belongs is altogether beyond the reach of democracy; the crown is, of course, the very antithesis of choice by popular vote. Moreover, those influences and forces which are so strong as to mould and even break governments at will, i.e., permanent officials and the financial interests (witness what happened to the Labour Government in 1931) are as far removed from being influenced by democratic expression as are the stars themselves.

Therefore, it does not seem to one pacifist at least that it is our duty to register our vote—though it is our privilege—if our choice is limited to two candidates, neither of whom is pacifist. Nevertheless, we shall be wise to support that party whose tradition and philosophy are basically pacifist.

In this there is no dilemma for the pacifist-democrat. He will do all in his power to change the official policy of his party to pacifism, and will at the same time make it perfectly clear that on this issue, his first loyalty being to his convictions and not to the majority opinion, he holds himself free to take the consequences of refusing to obey or observe a decision he believes to be wrong.

B. W. SIDWELL.

114 Regent Street, Nelson, Lancs.

of choosing legislators. It vitiates Lord Sanderson's assumption that rearmament has received—or can receive, by the present electoral system—a "democratic sanction."

More than one alternative is open to consideration. There is the Swiss method of submitting a new main issue to an explicit vote of the people, by referendum. There is proportional representation, which would probably assure the election of pacifists to the Commons, who would be spokesmen of our case in debates on international policy. There is the possibility of building up a new political body whose vital creed would unite peace and social justice with the rejection of military and economic war.

My present point is that, until the electoral system is so modified as to give the ordinary elector opportunity to vote "Yes" or "No" on rearmament, it is entirely wide of the mark to speak of rearmament as having obtained "democratic sanction."

HENRY CARTER.

1 Central Buildings, Westminster.

Could Not Vote For Chamberlain

Two main issues are raised by Lord Sanderson's letter (*Peace News*, November 12):

(1) Ought one, as a Democrat, to vote in all circumstances?

(2) Ought, one in present circumstances, to vote for a Chamberlain candidate if one feels unable to vote for an advocate of collective security?

1. In my view, if a person decides, after due reflection, not to vote, he thereby exercises the right to vote quite as much as if he voted. A big abstention from voting would be regarded as having equal significance with voting, as the reason for it would probably be known.

Indeed, I should say that if in any con-

stituency, PPU members felt unable to vote for, say, a bellicose advocate of collective security, and also for a fascistically inclined imperialist, they would do well to consider the advisability of making a public declaration of their intention not to vote, also stating the reasons why.

2. We are here concerned with a factual issue. If in the Oxford election I had found myself unable to vote for Mr. Lindsay, I personally should not have been able to vote for Mr. Hogg. In saying this, I am assuming that Mr. Hogg is a supporter of Mr. Chamberlain, as I believe he is.

My main reason for saying this, is that I believe that Chamberlain's policy will have two evil results: it will (a) lead to the carving up of almost the entire world into 7 closed-in trade systems, and (b) hasten a world economic collapse in which

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John Barclay Asks: WHO AND WHAT ARE WE?

The Group
Secretary's
Weekly
Chat

I VISUALIZE the PPU as an emerging body of public opinion. We are neither political or religious but we are very much "an opinion."

The membership of our groups is made up of all kinds and conditions of people. Nothing can be more inspiring than the knowledge that within our ranks are representatives of the whole nation, rich and poor, wise and stupid, saint and sinner! The most valued member is the one who gives most of himself and as there is no entrance fee, all start equal.

The other day I jotted down a list of group leaders and their occupations. It made interesting reading—actor, artist, bookseller, busdriver, civil servant, clerk, clergyman, caretaker, headmaster, musician, nurse, plumber, postman, printer, surgeon, teacher, and so one could go on, but the list is unending.

The PPU, however, is largely a permeating body and its business is like that of the old ILP within the Labour Party, and is also in direct descent from such bodies as the WSPU of Mrs. Pankhurst days—the corps of a larger movement, and therefore fundamentally a spiritual movement.

The greatest hope for the future seems to lie within the PPU groups themselves, led as they are in the main by men and women who are sacrificing all their spare time and more often than not their money, and backed up by others who carry on unremittingly the task of educating the public to think in terms of peace rather than war. They are building a foundation on which will rise the pacifist society at which we are all aiming.

The most difficult part of the work is to find the constant inspiration which alone renews the energy, enthusiasm and faith without which the work cannot go on. For myself, I find this inspiration in the groups themselves, and from the constant stream

of letters which pass through my hands.

When I feel at my lowest ebb (about 4 a.m.) I am reminded of the fact that there are more than 900 groups that in one way or another constitute the movement and are carrying on the pioneer work without the tremendous support I get by being in the centre. The power of fellowship is immense and therefore it gives the certainty of ultimate victory.

At headquarters we are trying to face up to the enormous demands made on us by our members in supplying the necessary information without which they cannot answer the new questions constantly arising.

DICK SHEPPARD CENTRES

The following items are wanted: table covering, carpet, rug, mats, &c.

For disposal: I have the offer of a Chesterfield, drop end, and of a lounge seat, 7 ft. long.

For sale: four dining room chairs, leather covered, mahogany, good condition, 12s. each. One piano, good condition, recently renovated, £7. Inquiries to Miss Naylor, 4 Heathfield Park, Willesden Green, London, N.W.2.

CHRISTMAS CARDS

Our Christmas cards will be ready in a short time and pictures will appear in *Peace News* (see page 5). It has been suggested that everybody who has sent a German letter to Munich should follow it up by sending a PPU Christmas card.

"FOUR CORNERS"

As will be seen there is a change taking place in the general appearance of the paper this week, and less space is available for purely "personal" matter. Any item of information which is of general interest can be submitted for news and may appear in other columns.

In future please send all matters appertaining to group activity to me at 96 Regent Street.

London Group "Holds" Tower Hill

The City of London PPU group is successfully "holding" Tower Hill pending the recovery of the Rev. Donald Soper.

Nigel Spottiswood and J. H. Slack spoke last Wednesday, and on Wednesday next the speaker is to be Canon Stuart Morris. Each meeting lasts from 12.30 p.m. to 2 p.m.

The last meeting was a conspicuous success. A crowd estimated to be nearly 700 heard the case for pacifism stated. Questions indicated great interest and an intelligent examination of our policy. Three dozen copies of *Peace News* were sold.

Forthcoming speakers are:—

- Nov. 23. Alex Miller and Humphrey Moore.
- 30. Preston Benson and Kay Jones.
- Dec. 7. John Barclay.
- 14. W. Briar and W. E. Twells.
- 21. Nigel Spottiswood and Andrew Stewart.
- 28. Sybil Morrison and Stanley Keble.

A CHALLENGE from the Army

Recruiting returns for the Army last week were:

670

an increase of 97 over the figure for the corresponding week of last year.

During the same week the number of new Peace Pledge signatories enrolled was:

286

Well, groups, what are you going to do about it?

Recently we were enrolling at a rate double that of the Army. We must get back to that standard!

START BY MAKING CERTAIN
THAT NEXT WEEK WE SHALL
ENROL AT LEAST ONE NEW
MEMBER FOR EVERY ARMY
RECRUIT!

Group News from the Four Corners

Decentralization in West Kent

AT a recent meeting of Bexleyheath group it was suggested that, since the West Kent Region is so large that members cannot often all meet together, groups tended to become isolated.

It was suggested that groups in one area should coordinate and form a central committee, with representatives from each group. This committee would be responsible for organizing public meetings and propaganda in the area. Other groups in the region have been asked to think over the scheme.

Greenhithe Tackle Labour Candidate

GREENHITHE and district members sent a letter to Mrs. Adamson, Labour candidate in the recent Dartford election, setting forth their views.

In her reply Mrs. Adamson agreed with the demand for a world conference and declared that "fundamentally all socialists are pacifists but many people feel strongly at this stage we must on Labour's Peace Plan and ultimately lead on to disarmament and peace."

Nuneaton Opens Winter Campaign

THE first big public meeting of the winter was held by Nuneaton branch on Monday, jointly with the local Cooperative Education Committee.

Speakers were James H. Hudson and Dr. Konrad Fels.

At the next big meeting, on December 9, speakers will be Miss Mary Gamble and the Rev. F. W. Moyle.

Bradford is Interested

SEARCHING questions were asked by the fairly large crowd which attended a meeting held by Bradford Moor group last week.

Canon Morris had pointed out that "you cannot kill 'isms' by killing 'ists'." He also observed that, though the threat of military force had failed during a recent crisis, the calling of a Four-Power Conference had attained the desired result—the averting of war.

Huddersfield Poster Parades

TWO poster parades have recently been held in Huddersfield.

On the first occasion 21 people and a van paraded the main streets twice, advertising a meeting to be addressed by Laurence Housman, and drawing public attention to the need for a world conference. On the second parade a similar message was carried.

Boston Group Grows

MEMBERSHIP in Boston, Lincs., has grown from two signatories in September to ten last week. There are two more likely recruits, and more were expected following a debate to be held on Thursday evening.

Will Group leaders please note that all reports for inclusion in "Group News from the Four Corners" should in future be sent to John Barclay, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. Items are still being received at "Peace News" office, causing confusion.

Though still small in number, the group is very keen. Since September 13 members have held an open-air meeting with the loudspeaker van, written as a group twice to the Prime Minister as well as individually to Lord Halifax; organized this week's debate; secured thirteen subscribers to *Peace News*; and conducted press correspondence.

Permeation in Hull

NOW that dark, wintry evenings are here Hull members are busy penetrating the varied societies and organizations in the district.

Already the Methodist Guild, Fellowship of Debate, YWCA Discussion Group for Men and Women, and Cottingham branch of the Women's Cooperative Guild have been visited, while others are booked for the Beverley Cooperative Guild, National Union of Railwaymen, Young Communist Group.

Today (Saturday) at 7.30 p.m., a surprise party is being held at the Peace Shop. Admission will be 6d.

Bournemouth Hears

John Barclay

JOHN BARCLAY addressed a crowded public meeting last week on "Why I Shall Not Fight Again."

He told of war experiences which opened his eyes to the truth and inspired in him the determination to enlighten his fellow men. Emphasizing that militarism can only be overcome by its opposite, he added that to love one's enemies was a personal responsibility. The way of example was the effective way to influence others.

Mr. Barclay also stressed the need to "push" the sale of *Peace News*.

Liverpool Peace Shop

A SIGNATORY offered his new shop for pacifist propaganda during Armistice Week. The offer came at the eleventh hour but we readily accepted.

Quakers joined with PPU members to make the venture a success. Urgent appeals to PPU headquarters and the Northern Friends' Peace Board resulted in packages of literature. A peace exhibition was obtained from Sale, Cheshire (following an unsuccessful message for the Bexhill exhibition, already on loan).

With this speedy help there soon appeared an arresting and colourful window—the result of pacifist cooperation. It was later decided to keep the shop open for another week.

(Continued in Col. 3 page 11)

The Notice Board

Meetings

King's Lynn.—A meeting on December 3 at 7.30 p.m. in London Road South Methodist Church, will discuss work of the newly-formed PPU group.

West Noiswood group meets on second and fourth Tuesdays in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall (near tram terminus). Study circle (to study Gregg's *The Power of Non-Violence*), meets in members' houses in rotation—usually first and third Tuesdays.

Peckham.—Friends' Meeting House, Highshore Road, every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Poster Parades

Southend.—Local pacifists and sympathizers are invited to a bumper poster parade on December 2. Move off 7.45 p.m. from Plough Corner, Westcliff. Names to secretary, 549 London Road, Southend, or to *Peace News* organizer, 112 Hainault Avenue, Westcliff-on-Sea.

Greenford, Middlesex.—Volunteers required for November 26 to advertise mass meeting. Write to H. V. Fuller, 588 Whitten Avenue West, Greenford.

Volunteers for parades in West End on Sunday evenings. Meet outside Friends House, Euston Road, 6.45 p.m.

Relay parade, Edgware to Greenwich via Regent Street on December 3. Full details later.

Parades from 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, every Saturday at 6.45 p.m. and 8.45 p.m.

Special parades are to be held from headquarters, 96 Regent Street, W.1, on Tuesdays at 6.30 p.m. and 8.15 p.m. and continuing until further notice.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Belfast.—Volunteers wanted for Friday evenings. Write Miss I. Brown, 56 Ulsterville Avenue, Belfast.

Victoria station on December 2. Mass selling from 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. Names to PPU headquarters, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, by November 26. Volunteers look out for *Peace News* decorated car opposite station.

Under the Oak Tree

CHRISTMAS IN SPAIN

By Theo Wills

WE have been comparing Christmases with our Spanish guests and find from what they tell us that although the festival has fundamental elements in common in both countries, it has also striking differences.

In both countries it commemorates the same event, tends to be an intimate family festival, is celebrated with the best feasting within one's means, and in both the turkey has its place, but beyond such resemblances the differences are most arresting.

★

For instance, in the Spain of our children, Christmas proper is not the present-giving occasion that it is in England. For them the appropriate date is January 6 when the Three Kings are said to have reached the Manger. Moreover it is not Santa Claus who brings the presents but the Three Kings themselves!

Children do not speak their desires up the chimney but write letters to the Kings. The letters reach various destinations—such as the pockets of parents—but sometimes the Post Office or even the Broadcasting Company! And it has not been unknown for members of these services, on opening such letters, voluntarily to take upon themselves the kingly role.

The children put out their shoes for the presents, sometimes with a little food in them in case the Kings should be hungry after their journey.

★

Again, strange as it may seem to us, Christmas dinner is not the great meal of the festival, but the supper on Christmas Eve. Though the food has resemblances there are some very great differences. The turkey figures, but not the pudding.

I introduced the Spanish staff to Christmas-pudding during the summer holiday, the wrong season, of course, but this did not alter the nature of the pudding. And they simply did not comprehend it!

★

All this by way of reminding readers that "Christmas is coming." Here we shall celebrate more or less according to the English custom. It will be a family festival... but the real parents will be absent.

We hope that readers after helping so nobly in so many ways will yet be able to be Kings for our Christmas. Gifts will be welcome at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex.

All donations should be sent to Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. They will be most gratefully received.

West End of London. Mass selling on December 17. See page 7.

Holloway.—Volunteers urgently required for mass selling at Nag's Head today, from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Wood Green High Road from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. today. Meet Spouters' Corner at 2.45 p.m. Fifty sellers wanted.

Taunton.—Volunteers each week. Apply Mrs. K. Bryant, Leycroft Farm, Taunton.

Newton Abbot.—Every Friday. Also volunteers for special selling at Newton Abbot, on November 12, at 6 p.m., and at Torquay on November 26, at 6 p.m.

Miscellaneous

Bayswater group will hold a jumble sale on December 3. Please send anything saleable to the Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway, London, W.2, or notify Ellen Dighton if you wish to have your parcel collected.

Eltham group are holding a jumble sale on November 26. Any parcels would be greatly appreciated, or goods could be collected if near. Write 69 Southend Crescent, London, S.E.9.

Will members in and around Ilfracombe please get into touch immediately with Mr. Wilkey, 3 Victoria Road, Ilfracombe, to discuss arrangements for meeting on December 4.

What do you do with your old copies of *Peace News*? Miss Kathleen Hoskin, 2 Quintrel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, would be glad to give a list of names and addresses of people in Germany, Switzerland, France, and England who would welcome them to read. All inquiries should enclose a stamped envelope for reply.

Donald G. Groom is no longer secretary of Reading group. On November 22 he will leave England to join the Quaker Relief Unit in Barcelona.

Wanted urgently, books for Peace Library. Can be left at Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road, Bournemouth, any Monday from 7.30 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Bridgend, Glamorgan.—Members in this district please communicate with Mr. Glyn Howe, Arosfa, St. Brides Major, Bridgend, Glamorgan.

Diary of the Week

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Saturday, Nov. 19

TOTNES; 8 p.m., Dartington Hall; film show; PPU. Also on 20 (Sun.) at 2.30 p.m.

Sunday, Nov. 20

HIGHAMS PARK; 3 p.m., Regal Cinema; Vera Brittain, Rev. Alan Balding, Ben Greene, William Turner, and John Barclay (chairman); PPU.
TODMORDEN; 8 p.m., Cooperative Hall; Cecil H. Wilson on "What are we in the world for?"; chairman: Rev. J. R. Brightman; PPU.
SALISBURY; 8.15 p.m., Church Street Methodist Church; Canon Stuart Morris.
LIVERPOOL; 8.15 p.m., Hope Street Unitarian Church; Dr. Konrad Fels, and Rev. Sidney Spencer (chairman); PPU.

Monday, Nov. 21

WORKSOP; 7.30 p.m., Central Hall; Dr. Konrad Fels and Cecil H. Wilson; PPU.
SOUTHBOURNE; 7.45 p.m., Immanuel Congregational Church Guild; debate: "That the State members of the League of Nations should rely on moral force alone for securing world order"; LNU.
BIRMINGHAM; 8 p.m., "The Hut," Lozells Street Hall, Lozells Street; debate; LNU and PPU.
SALISBURY; 8 p.m., Michael Herbert Hall, Wilton; Rev. A. Cordell and Rev. C. P. Gliddon.
WOLVERHAMPTON; 8 p.m., Civic Hall; Laurence Housman, the Archdeacon of Stoke, and Rev. P. B. Jenkinson (chairman); PPU.

Tuesday, Nov. 22

LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20 p.m., Friends House, Euston Road; A. Herbert Gray on "A Christian Pacifist and the Crisis"; Peace Committee of London Friends.
SALISBURY; 7.30 p.m., Bishop's School Hall; Youth Rally; Mary Gamble and Richard C. Wood.
GOLDERS GREEN; 8 p.m., All Souls' Church Hall, Hoop Lane; Rev. Reginald Sorensen, Fenner Brockway, and Barbara Duncan Harris; "Pacifism and a National Register"; FoR and PPU.

Wednesday, Nov. 23

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m., Open-air meeting; W. G. Millman and Humphrey S. Moore; City PPU group.
BRISTOL; 7.30 p.m., Totterdown Baptist Church, Wells Road; Donald F. Matthews on "Pacifism and the Church of England"; chairman: Rev. F. M. Cooper; Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.
BAYSWATER; 8 p.m., Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queen'sway; Professor J. W. Scott on "The Economic Basis of Community"; PPU.
HASLEMERE; 8 p.m., The Hall; Mary Gamble; PPU.
OXFORD; 8.15 p.m., 115 High Street; Vera Brittain; University Pacifist Association.
BLACKPOOL; 8 p.m., Library Lecture Hall, Queen Street; Dr. Konrad Fels and Rev. H. Colbeck (chairman); PPU, FoR, and Society of Friends.

Thursday, Nov. 24

SALISBURY; 7.30 p.m., Assembly Rooms; Frank Hancock, Richard Bishop, and Dr. D. A. Crow.
ABERDEEN; 8 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, 98 Crown Street; Rev. J. E. S. Otty on "Pacifists and ARP"; PPU.
GREENHITHE; 8 p.m., Ingress Vale Congregational Church, Knockhall Road; Elton Hadley, Rev. T. Howard Kemp, and Rev. S. J. W. Morgan; FoR & PPU.

Friday, Nov. 25

BRISTOL; 7.30 p.m., Tyndale Baptist Church, Whiteladies Road; John Barclay and Rev. F. C. Bryan (chairman); Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.
LEICESTER; 8 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Prebend Street; Rev. J. R. Blackburn; Christian Pacifist Fellowship.
HARPENDEN; 8.15 p.m., The New Public Hall; Armistice meeting; George Lansbury, Rev. A. E. Cordell, and the Rector of Harpenden (chairman); PPU.
THORNTON HEATH; 8.15 p.m., Downsview Methodist Church, Downsview Road; Dr. Konrad Fels; FoR.

Saturday, Nov. 26

CAMBRIDGE; The Labour Hall, Norfolk Street; Pacifist Convention; 2.30 p.m. and 6 p.m. Alex Wood (chairman), George Lansbury, Stuart Morris, Mary Gamble, Henry Carter, H. C. L. Heywood, and Anna Bidder; Parliamentary Pacifist Group. Details from Miss Sindall, 12 Jesus Lane, Cambridge.
SWANSEA; 3 p.m., Friends' Meeting House; John Barclay; United meeting of West Wales groups of PPU.
DARTFORD; Sutton's Hall, East Hill; half-day lecture school; 3.15 p.m. and 6 p.m. Maurice Rowntree and D. Emrys Hughes (chairman); International Friendship League.
SALISBURY; 7.30 p.m., Assembly Rooms; Ruth Fry, Rev. L. Artingtall, Rev. C. P. Gliddon, and Rev. R. Sorensen.

Sunday, Nov. 27

TOTNES; 3 p.m., Dartington Hall; Dr. Konrad Fels and Miss K. Spurrell; PPU.
GREENFORD; 8.15 p.m., Playhouse Cinema; Lord Arnold and Rev. Henry Carter; PPU.
CAMBRIDGE; 8.30 p.m., Regal Cinema; George Lansbury, Vera Brittain, and Arthur Edington (chairman); PPU.

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HANGING CALENDARS for 1939 printed with your selected motto or text from 5s. per doz.; 12s. per 100. Sample set 2d.—Standard Press, Margate

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GERMAN PACIFIST, expert linguist, living in South Denmark near beautiful Flensburg Fjord, is willing to take students as boarders to learn German, Danish, Swedish, French or Italian. Very reasonable terms. Facilities for regular German and Danish conversational practice in district. For further particulars apply War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, or direct to Dr. Arnold Kalisch, "Fredshjem," Roenshoved pr Rinkenæs, Denmark.

GERMAN LESSONS or exchange conversation by Viennese Pacifist. Near Bethnal Green.—Box 128, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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LECTURES

THE FUTILITY AND SUICIDAL POLICY OF WAR; the above address given by Captain Butcher, Royal Societies Club, St. James's St., anytime, anywhere (20 miles radius) without fee or expenses.

"THE ROLE OF SEX IN AN ADVANCED CIVILIZATION," by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Wednesday, November 16, at 8 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Price 1s. F.P.S.I.

A BOLD PACIFIST LEAD FROM AN UNEXPECTED QUARTER

"News Chronicle" Foreign Editor Says "No More War!"

THE readers of the *News Chronicle* were given a strong pacifist lead by the Foreign Editor, Norman Cliff, in his Armistice Day article, "Peace Has Given Us This Chance."

Referring to "the imperative cry for peace which went up from the peoples of country after country, and startled the four men who met at Munich," he wrote:

"Bearing it in mind, will statesmen ever dare contemplate a great war again? Think of it: instead of the jingoistic war hysteria on the eve of war in 1914, the silence in Berlin and heartfelt cheers for peace. . . .

"Dare we hope that war, having demonstrated its extremity of frightfulness and futility, has at long last defeated itself?

"That the unarmed civil aeroplane, speeding statesmen to consultation face to face, is victorious over the massed squadrons of warplanes, pregnant with bombs and sprouting with fodder-hunting machine-guns?

"If there is the flimsiest substance for this hope, for which the peace-loving world anxiously catches its breath at this moment, what can be done at once to nurture it into a substantial reality?

"Is this the only answer—more and more guns and warplanes, and more and more young men trained to turn them upon their fellows?

SUPREME OPPORTUNITY

"Is the final word that so bluntly expressed by 'Scrutator' in the *Sunday Times*: Peace has given us the rare chance of perfecting our defences and of choosing our own ground and fighting in our own way should real danger come?

"Is Mr. Chamberlain's response to the German people who hailed him as the bringer of peace to take the form only of more and more bombs, in case it should be necessary to blast them to pieces?"

And the answer? Mr. Cliff's reply might well have been used by any pacifist speaker on any platform:

"The hopes of the peace-hungry multitudes throughout the world will be betrayed unless this supreme opportunity is immediately utilized to devise and implement measures:

"To define, and, as far as humanly possible, to remove, the causes of war.

"To remedy admitted grievances outstanding as relics of the Versailles 'settlement';

"To modify by negotiation the more glaring of the injustices that remain to be suffered by national minorities including those in Germany;

"To relieve by bold economic measures

the weight of impoverishment in Central Europe which drives desperate men to seek refuge in war or fascism;

"To lift the unbearable burden of armaments from the bent shoulders of the under-nourished masses — and not merely to discard the most demoniacal weapons that are calculated to make war more ghastly and therefore less likely."

And this, he emphasizes, must necessarily involve the willingness of the British Empire to make sacrifices:

"Unless, after forcing the brave people of Czechoslovakia to make tremendous sacrifices, of territory if necessary, for the British Empire is prepared itself to make sacrifices of territory if necessary, for the same cause, the hope of a happier tomorrow may be dismissed as a foolish dream, and the world in our and our children's time abandoned to the unrestrained rule of brute force."

This is the sanest article the *News Chronicle* has published for years, and one of the most convincing statements of pacifist policy which have appeared anywhere in recent times.

Group News—continued Growth in Wales

NEW groups have recently been formed at Port Talbot, Ystalyfera, and Ammanford, and it is hoped that before the end of the year active groups will be flourishing in Pembrokeshire—particularly Fishguard and Haverfordwest.

At Swansea and Llanelly the market peace stalls are open all day on Saturdays, and do a brisk trade. A study group has been formed under the leadership of Emlyn Davies, seven dozen *Peace News* are sold weekly, and speakers are supplied every week to political and religious organizations.

At Ystradgynlais two public meetings have been held recently, speakers being Richard Bishop and Sydney Conbeer. At Llanelly Richard Bishop and the Rev. H. Ingli James addressed a large public meeting.

Students of the Presbyterian College at Carmarthen are conducting an enthusiastic crusade for pacifism in all the young people's gatherings they can find.

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MEETINGS, &c.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, is held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

PUBLIC DEBATE between Lord Ponsonby and Sir Norman Angell—"That Pacifists Should Support Collective Security." Birkbeck College, Fetter Lane, E.C.4, November 21, 8 p.m.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain: November 21. "Roosevelt's New Deal." Speaker: Lester. 8.30 p.m., 39 Doughty Street, W.C.1.

READERS

are requested to
SUPPORT
"Peace News"
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PERSONAL

WOULD SOME kind person offer hospitality to Viennese boy, 15 (Jewish). Good family, excellent character. Eichenwald, 63 Belsize Park, N.W.3.

READERS OF *Peace News* are invited to communicate with G. Ellison, 182 Lowden Road, S.E.24, who will be pleased to introduce them to a Furnishing House of repute. Those interested in this offer may take advantage of a substantial discount.

SITUATIONS

Vacant

LADY IN HARROGATE with daughter aged 11 offers very comfortable and pleasant home during Christmas school holidays to mother with daughter about same age. Light services only required. No payment. Abundant library, good music, and healthy environment for child. Well-educated woman preferred.—Apply Box 133, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

WANTED, SMART CAPABLE LAD, age about sixteen. Good prospects to suitable applicant. Southend-on-Sea. Apply Box 134, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

Wanted

LETTERPRESS PRINTER (23), dismissed for pacifist views, seeks employment. Eight years' experience platens and wharftales; excellent references. Full Technical Certificates, London City and Guilds, and other good technical qualifications.—Reply to P.P.U. Headquarters.

MAN REQUIRES SITUATION, drive car or lorry, clean licence, two years' motor repairing, recently engaged in small mineral water business, not married.—Box 119, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

TYPEWRITING

TYPING FOR "PEACE." Jean's Typing and Duplicating Office are waiting for any jobs you may have—large or small. Speed, efficiency, and low charges. Phone Bishopsgate 3309; 7, Broad Street Station, Liverpool Street, E.C.2.

WHERE TO STAY

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"Frightfulness" May End War

WAR may hasten its own end by its very frightfulness, hopes the Bishop of Blackburn, Dr. P. M. Herbert.

Addressing the Diocesan Conference last Wednesday he declared: "It would be a fitting Nemesis if, by threatening to destroy humanity, war were to end by destroying itself."

Dr. Herbert said it was the new possibility of appeasement through negotiation that alone could give us real hope for the future. The crisis was mainly due to past refusal to look facts in the face, or to take rightful steps to remove injustices and legitimate grievances.

HOW SHALL WE SERVE?

(continued from Page 1)

to join us. In conversation, in print, and from the platform we must counter the lies and the hate propaganda without which it would be impossible to continue the war. We must continue our agitation without modification right through the war, to the day when peace is established, whatever the personal consequences.

And let no pacifist doubt that these consequences will be serious. In 1917 fifty British war-resisters were sentenced to death; in the next war thousands may be, and reprieve will not be likely.

THE second positive service we can give is, individually or in corps of pacifists, to minister as best we can to the suffering and the panic-stricken.

In thinking of this let us try to envisage the colossal scale on which human pain and terror will occur during another war. No pacifist could stand by and see the agonies and the hysteria of the civilian population subjected to bombing and say, "This is no concern of mine."

But he must render his aid of his own volition, as he will: not at the behest of or in co-operation with those who have brought this horror on the people.

THE third positive service we can give is to care for our own—those sharing our conviction who, because of steadfast adherence to the peace pledge, are in want or are imprisoned.

Fine work of this kind was done by pacifists in the last war. Not only did they succour those for whom the authorities had scant sympathy: they welded the pacifist movement together more strongly than ever in bonds of mutual reliance and trust.

FOURTHLY, there is a vast field of socially necessary work, scamped in peace time, and certain to be completely disregarded in war, in which the pacifist will find ample scope for service on behalf of the people he lives among.

The cultivation of neglected land, the repair of country roads and houses, re-afforestation, solace for the aged, the sick, and the despairing—in short, all the things that are crying out to be done all over the country, but are not, because there is no profit in them.

Here it is difficult to be explicit.

It is a responsibility of the pacifist movement, working in groups or through a committee representative of all the regions of the country, to get down to the details of work of this character. Local conditions and personal capacities will dictate the final choice for every one of us—but for each of us there is something.

Let us remember this, in passing. Being a pacifist does not only mean (at least to me) taking up a no-more-war attitude when the call to arms is sounded. It means leading always, in one's everyday life, in peace and in war, a sort of life in harmony with the highest human ideals.

We ought, therefore, not only to be getting down to a consideration of this aspect of the problem in anticipation of a war situation: we should be considering ways and means of real national service now, and putting them into practice.

Let every pacifist concentrate on this problem and reach a conclusion. The columns of *Peace News*, I am sure, are open for the expression of individual opinions.

FINALLY, let us not delude ourselves that what we offer as our service will

A Pacifist Commentary

The German Horror : Fighters Instead Of Bombers : Palestine Again The French Decrees

GERMANY is repeating a black page in history in her unspeakably cruel treatment of the Jewish race.

The murder of Herr von Rath by a crazy Polish-Jewish boy was a crime which the Jews were the first to condemn in the most outspoken terms. The wholesale destruction of Jewish property, the campaign of personal violence, the official restrictions on

ordinary every-day activities, and the immense fine of one milliard marks, followed by virtual economic sentence of death, constitute a punishment which must rank as one of the greatest crimes.

The tragedy is not so much a Jewish tragedy as a world and, especially, a German tragedy. The consequences of these acts in contemporary Germany will surely and inexorably work themselves out in history.

The murder of Alexander II of Russia in 1881 was followed by very similar cruel and repressive measures against the Russian Jews and these had not been forgotten when the events of 1917 took place.

No Escape

What adds to the German horror is that the Jews have no escape. The Russian Jew could emigrate and he could take what little property he had with him. The German Jew, under the new conditions, can do neither.

Under the currency laws of the German Reich he cannot take his property out of the country. Under the immigration laws of the rest of the world he may not immigrate if he has no property.

The question we have to ask : whether the Evian Conference really did mark the limit of international collaboration for settling this immense racial problem. If it does represent such a limit then the guilt of the rest of the world differs only in degree from that of Germany.

Our New Air Policy

A SIGNIFICANT change of policy underlies the announcement of the Air Minister in the House of Commons that priority will be given to the production of fighter machines.

It has been an axiom in air strategy that the only defence in the air is the offensive. In other words the only way to save women and children from air attack is to bomb the women and children of the enemy first. The announcement by the Air Minister seems to change all this in that we are to build up a sufficient force of fighting machines to destroy the bombers.

It is doubtful whether the British air strategists are really convinced converts to this new policy. A change of strategy had, however, to be made for political reasons.

Political Reasons

Germany must have made it clear to the British Government that any further increase in the aggressive British air arm would so upset any policy of appeasement that even the Anglo-German Naval Agreement would be jeopardized. If this agreement were to be denounced then indeed a serious situation would arise and to horrors and uncertainties of the present armament

race would be added a world naval race as well.

In the change in our methods of air defence we have a small but real token of the sincerity of the policy of appeasement by the Government. Whether the Conservative Party will accept this change, however, seems doubtful. Already pretty powerful voices are being raised against it.

Palestine Conference

THE Government has rejected the partition scheme whereby Palestine was to have been divided into three: two States (one for the Arabs and the other for the Jews), with the remainder retained as a British mandated territory. The Government is now to attempt by means of a conference to reach an Arab-Jewish agreement, failing which they will impose a settlement, the form of which has not been specified.

We are now right back to where we were two years ago. If the Government persists in its policy of refusing to allow certain Arab leaders to take part in the conference, we are even further from a settlement than we were then. Two years ago these Arab leaders might have been acceptable.

Arabs Must Be There

It would be a major disaster if our government persists in its refusal to treat with all or certain members of the Arab High Committee.

The Mufti, in particular, is recognized as a man of the highest personal integrity and any settlement to which he agrees will have universal Arab support. The success of both the Irish and Egyptian settlements were due to the fact that the British Government agreed to negotiate with leaders who had been branded as criminals.

The French Decrees

THE French Parliament is to debate the measures which M. Reynaud, Finance Minister, has drawn up to deal with the economic position.

The new measures have evoked grumbling from the Left and the Right, but there is no need to doubt their real purpose. Indeed, M. Reynaud himself, in a broadcast address to the French nation on Saturday, declared that, whether they liked it or not, they were living under a capitalist regime. There was one thing on which they all agreed—"not to swap horses in midstream." France could not afford the luxury of changing her regime in the Europe of today.

He continued:

The capitalist regime being what it is, its laws must be obeyed if it is to work. Its laws are profit, individual risk, the liberty of markets, and the stimulus of competition. Risk and profit are bound together, for no producer will run a risk if he does not have a chance of making a profit.

In the name, then, of the sacred right of capital to its profit, the French Government—not without internal dissension—plans to kill all the vaunted reforms introduced by the Popular Front Government. There will be new strike legislation, the forty-hour week will be finally abolished, overtime rates will be reduced, and the railway companies are to make large cuts in their payrolls. On the other hand, taxation will be increased.

1931 Recalled

AS an introduction to these moves, M. Reynaud treated his hearers to a peroration reminiscent of those of British politicians during the economy ramp which accompanied the formation of the "National" Government in 1931.

"It is your united strength, your instinct of preservation, your spirit of sacrifice, your sense of grandeur, which will conquer," he told them.

In more sober terms *The Times* admitted in a leading article on Monday that M. Reynaud's plan "is the last chance of saving the liberal and capitalist system" in France. If the effort fails, and no-one is prepared to try to "swap horses in mid-stream" (the Left being badly split), political and economic regimentation is an almost certain sequel.

Meanwhile we see another example of modern "democracy" asking workers voluntarily to surrender what little economic liberty they have.

Knitting for Spain

The dispatch of at least 10,000 knitted garments to Spain is the aim of the Duchess of Atholl's Knitting Competition. Competitors will be allowed to earmark their work for dispatch to either side in Spain. The competition closes on January 21 and particulars are obtainable from the British Youth Peace Assembly, Knitting Contest, 15 Great James Street, London, W.C.1.

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